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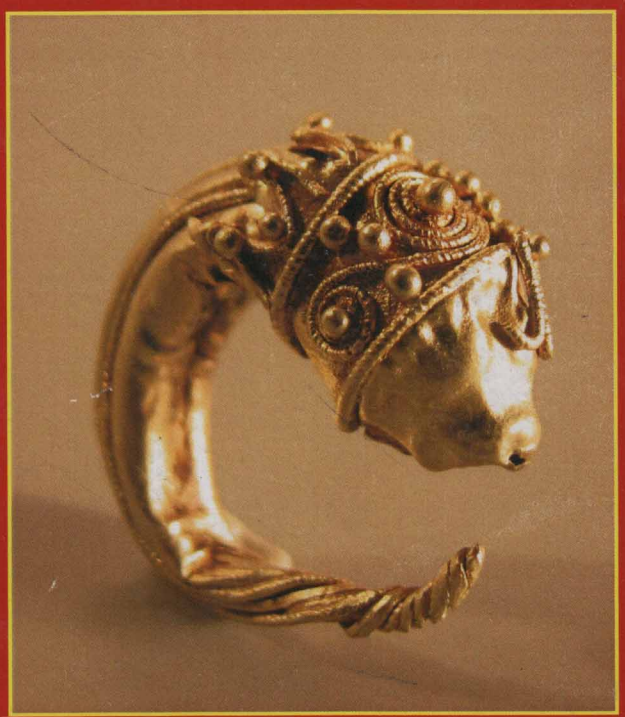

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II-III (XXV-XXVI), 2010-2011

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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OSTROVUL CORBULUI ZWISCHEN FLUSSKM. 911-912.

Die Siedlung der Coțofeni-Kultur

PETRE ROMAN

Schlagwörter: Ostrovul Corbului, Siedlung der Coțofeni-Kultur zwischen Flusskm. 911-912, Häuser, Gruben.

Zusammenfassung: Der vorhandene Text ist die deutsche Fassung des Aufsatzes "*Aşezarea culturii Coțofeni*" veröffentlicht im Band "*Ostrovul Corbului între km. fluviali 911-912. Morminte şi unele aşezări preistorice*", Ed. Academiei Române, 2008, S. 123-168. Es werden die Komplexe der Coțofeni-Kultur vorgelegt. Das archäologische Gut wurde Herrn Elmar Christmann (Heidelberg) zur Bearbeitung und Veröffentlichung gegeben.

Cuvinte-cheie: Ostrovul Corbului, aşezarea culturii Coțofeni dintre km. fluviali 911-912, locuințe, gropi.

Rezumat: Prezentul text reprezintă varianta în limba germană a articolului "*Aşezarea culturii Coțofeni*" publicat în vol. "*Ostrovul Corbului între km. fluviali 911-912. Morminte şi unele aşezări preistorice*", Ed. Academiei Române, 2008, p. 123-168. Sunt prezentate complexele aparținând culturii Coțofeni, materialul arheologic fiind atribuit spre prelucrare şi publicare d-lui Elmar Christmann (Heidelberg).

Die Ausgrabungen wurden von mir[1] durchgeführt und koordiniert, und zwar bei Flusskm. 911 bei Ostrovul Corbului in den Zeiträumen von 1970, 1972-1984, und ich war auch sehr aufmerksam auf die Siedlungen der Träger der Coțofeni-Kultur. Natürlich gab es auch eine Begrenzung, die von der finanziellen Seite herkam, außerdem waren wir vom Ansteigen des Wasserspiegels der Donau abhängig und auch von dem Umstand, daß die Ausgrabungen eigentlich den Charakter von Rettungsgrabungen hatten, da hier das "*Wasserkraftwerk Eisernes Tor II*" gebaut wurde, sowie der uns zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit, da wir jedesmal erwarteten, daß dieses Gebiet durch das Wasser des Stausees[2] bedeckt werden würde.

Bereits früher[3] publizierte ich Angaben zum Verlauf der Forschung, über die Stratigraphie verschiedener Schnitte, und ich machte auch schon kurze Ausführungen über die Coțofeni-Siedlung[4].

Im folgenden werden nur Materialien aus den Ausgrabungen veröffentlicht, die von einem unter meiner Leitung stehenden Team durchgeführt wurden, wir publizieren hier aber auch die Funde, die wir am Strand aufsammelten. Alle diese Materialien befinden sich zur Zeit in Bukarest, sie werden aber vermutlich später in das Museum des "Eisernen Tores" in Drobeta-Turnu Severin verbracht.

Genügend zahlreiche, von Ion Andrieşescu gebrachte Funde sind im Depot des Nationalmuseums für Antiquitäten in Bukarest. Andere befinden sich im Museum von Turnu Severin, in der Sammlung der Schulen von Ostrovul Corbului und Hinova, in der Sammlung des Pfarrers Puiu Ciolan Bădițeanu aus Batoți und sogar, wenn auch nur wenige, in der Sammlung des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte an der Universität Heidelberg[5]. Alle wurden vom Strand, von Botul Cliuciului oder Botul Piscului aufgelesen und werden separat in einem zukünftigen Katalog publiziert.

Ich habe als Leiter der Ausgrabungen die Verantwortung für die Veröffentlichung der entdeckten Wohnkomplexe.

Das ganze aus diesen Forschungen stammende archäologische Material übergab ich Herrn Elmar Christmann von der Universität Heidelberg. Er kennt die Periode gut, die der Coțofeni-Kultur in Griechenland[6] entspricht. Meine Überlegung war, daß im Interesse der Forschung er eine bessere Verbindung herstellen und Parallelen wird ziehen können zwischen der kulturellen Entwicklung in Griechenland und dem oltenischen Donaugebiet, wenn man auf diesem Weg Westbulgarien mitberücksichtigt, von wo ein anderer meiner Mitarbeiter, Stefan Alexandrov, einige unbekannte Aspekte der Coțofeni-Kultur in diesem Teil des Balkans bekannt machte[7].

Ich gab Herrn Elmar Christmann alle Freiheit, sich eine eigene Meinung zu bilden und seine Schlußfolgerungen selbst zu ziehen durch das Studium des Materials aus Ostrovul Corbului, und ich habe bewußt vermieden ihn in seiner Tätigkeit zu beeinflussen.

Ich bin sicher, daß dieses Ergebnis unserer langen Zusammenarbeit mit dem Universitätsinstitut und der Akademie in Heidelberg für die Forschung sehr nützlich sein wird.

[1] Im Verlauf der Jahre waren folgende Forscher Teil der Ausgrabungsmanschaft: Petre Roman – als Leiter, Florea Mogoşanu (†), Gheorghe Popilian, Marin Nica, Alexandra Bolomey (†), Ann Dodd-Opriţescu (†), Ion Baicu, Gabriel Crăciunescu, Constantin Stuparu (†), Alexandru Păunescu (†), Mihai Şimon (†), Rodiana Stanciu, Mihaela Micle, Rodica Iancu, Mircea Dogaru, Mihai Rotea, Veselin Draganov (Sofia).

[2] Roman 1987, 341; Roman 1996, 16, 44 f.

[3] Roman 1987, 335 ff; Roman 1996, 11 ff.

[4] Roman 1996, 30 f., 62 f.

[5] Sie wurden am 2. August 1984 während einer Exkursion am Strand von einer Studentengruppe des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Heidelberg, unter Leitung von Prof. Harald Hauptmann, aufgesammelt und dienen nun in Heidelberg als Lehrmaterial.

[6] Christmann 1996a; Christmann 1996b.

[7] Bakamska, Alexandrov 1988; Alexandrov, Gotzev 1990; Alexandrov 1990; Alexandrov 1994.

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Die Ansiedlung der Coțofeni-Kultur

Es gab eine große Überschwemmung[8], die entweder die Sălcuța-Besiedlung beendete oder sie erfolgte danach, schwemmte alle Sălcuța-Ablagerungen ab, und ebnete eigentlich das Gelände rundherum um den entstehenden „Tell". Es war eine Überschwemmung, die – nach den uns zur Verfügung stehenden ^{14}C-Daten – nach 3600 v.Chr. stattfand, und zwar gemäß der Datierung eines Sălcuța IIIb-Hauses[9]: Es läßt sich zeigen, daß es sich eigentlich um eine zufällige Überschwemmung handelte, da nicht viel später die Stelle als Nekropole für die Gemeinschaften genutzt wurde, die, kulturell gesprochen, Analogien in Bodrogkeresztúr und sogar in Sălcuța IV haben[10].

Zur Zeit der Stufen Herculane III/Hunyadihalom/Lažnany, Cernavodă III-Boleráz, Coțofeni I und II war das Gelände nicht besiedelt.

Wenn wir den 14C-Daten glauben, dann war die Zeitspanne, die verging (ab 3600 v.Chr., Sălcuța-Siedlung) bis die vorgeschichtlichen Menschen wieder Interesse hatten (um 3400 ± 100 v.Chr.[11]) eine neue Siedlung am Ende der Insel, und zwar im NW, zu errichten, eigentlich sehr klein.

Da ein durchlaufender Schnitt zwischen den beiden Sektoren A und B[12] fehlt, ist es schwer sagen, wo die Coțofeni-Gemeinschaften die ihre ersten Siedlungen bauten: in Sektor A, wo die beiden Donauarme zusammentrafen (Abb. 1), oder in Sektor B. Nach der Typologie des archäologischen Materials, scheinen die ältesten Niveaus in Sektor A zu liegen, so daß wir von Westen nach Osten mit der Beschreibung der Fundkomplexe in den Schnitten beginnen.

Sektor A

Hauskomplexe der Schnitte II, VIII und VIII-Süd

a) Ebenerdige Häuser

Auf dem vom Donauwasser überspülten Strand beobachte und legte man Reste eines verbrannten Hauses frei. Es ist eine Fläche von ungefähr 5,30 x 5,60 m, ohne daß wir ihre Umrisse bestimmen konnten, man fand sehr viele Reste verbrannter, mit Holzkohle vermengter Erde, und zwar in einer Tiefe von –1,65 m unterhalb der Höhe des heutigen (d.h. z.Zt. der Ausgrabung) Ufers bzw. vom Nullpunkt aus gemessen bei ca. –3,70 m, gefunden. Die erhaltenen Reste lagen innerhalb der Grenzen der Schnitte II und VIII-Süd (östlicher Teil, Abb. 1; 2). Einen aus Ton gebauten Herd schön geglätteten Oberflächen fand man unter den verbrannten Resten in der südwestlichen Ecke von Schnitt II. Der Boden des Hauses zeigte sich in Form eines gelben Niveaus. Das Haus gehört zum zweiten Niveau von unten an gezählt.

b) Eingetiefte Häuser oder Annexe

Im südlichen Teil von Schnitt II, in Schnitt VIII und VIII-Süd gibt es Reste des oben genannten (Punkt *a*), verbrannten Hauses, die scheinbar von einer ovalen Grube (Gr. 5) geschnitten wurden, die 3,40 x 2,00 m maß und 90-100 cm tief war (und zwar mit der Basis bei –4,60 bis –4,70 m unterhalb des Nullpunktes; Abb. 2). Das Ausgrabungsniveau (das dritte von unten nach oben) befindet sich an der Basis eines tiefen Depots von 27 cm (das sich bei –3,70 m

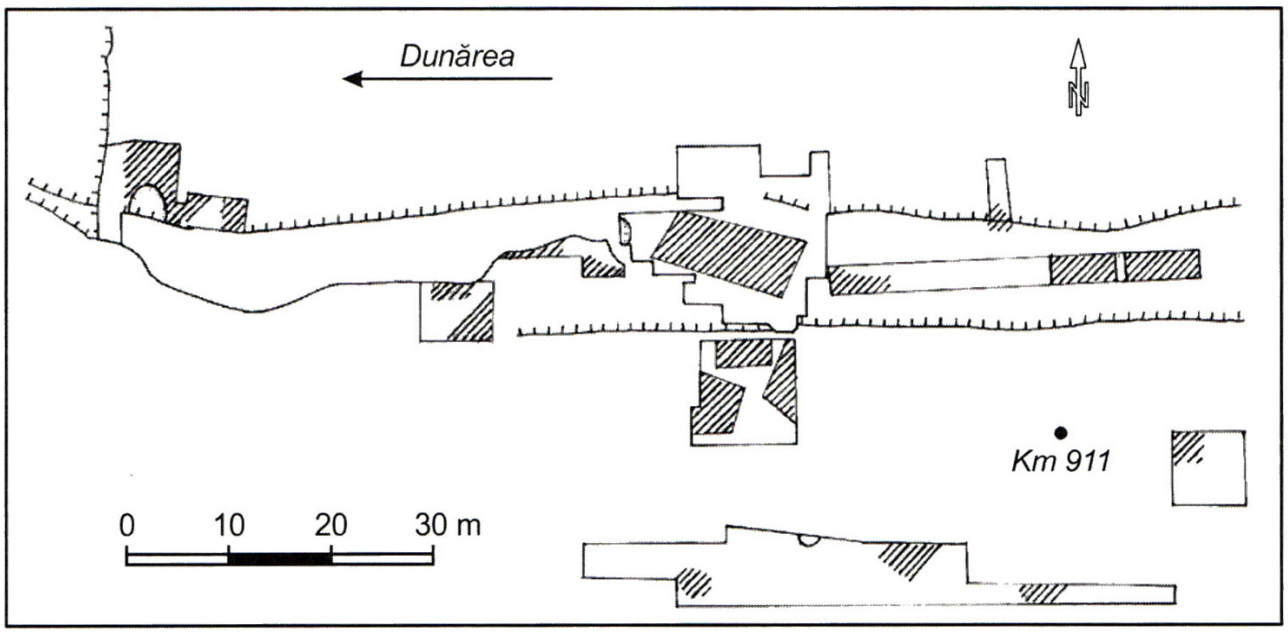

Abb. 1. Plan Sektor A mit Darstellung der Coțofeni-Bauten.

befindet). Über diesem Niveau fand man die Spuren einer Feuerstelle (also einer späteren Konstruktion aus dem 4. Niveau), sie war vom Feuer stark rot gebrannt und um sie herum lagen Coțofeni-Reste (Abb. 2)[13]. Grube 5 ist muldenartig und vom Westen zum Osten

[8] Roman 1987, 342 ff.; Roman 1996, 18 ff., 47 ff.

[9] Simon 1989, 143 und Fußnote 58.

[10] Roman, Dodd-Oprițescu 1989, Abb. 11/2, 6, 13/7a-b, 18/1, 3.

[11] Roman und Németi 1978, 71 f., 156: Probe ^{14}C, Lj 3797: 4570±60B.P. kalibriert 3400±100, Probe aus dem Coțofeni-Komplex L_1 in den Schnitten XII-a-k.

[12] Roman 1996, Abb. 5.

[13] Roman 1996, Abb. 9a.

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vertieft und OSO-WNW orientiert. Der Zugang zu dieser Grube befand sich auf der WNW-Seite und man fand ihn dort in Form einer Stufe, die sich 0,40 m unterhalb des Niveaus befand, von dem aus die Grube eingetieft worden war. Links von der Stufe entdeckte man eine Pfostengrube mit einem Dm. von 35 cm und einer Tiefe von 80 cm (Abb. 2).

In der Füllung der Grube, die eigentlich ein Haus oder ein Annex war, fand man zahlreiche verbrannte Reste: Erdstücke, Holzkohle, Asche. Sie könnten entweder von dem oben bei Punkt *a* genannten, ebenerdigen Haus (zeitgleich) stammen, oder vom Oberbau eines Grubenhauses oder sogar von beiden.

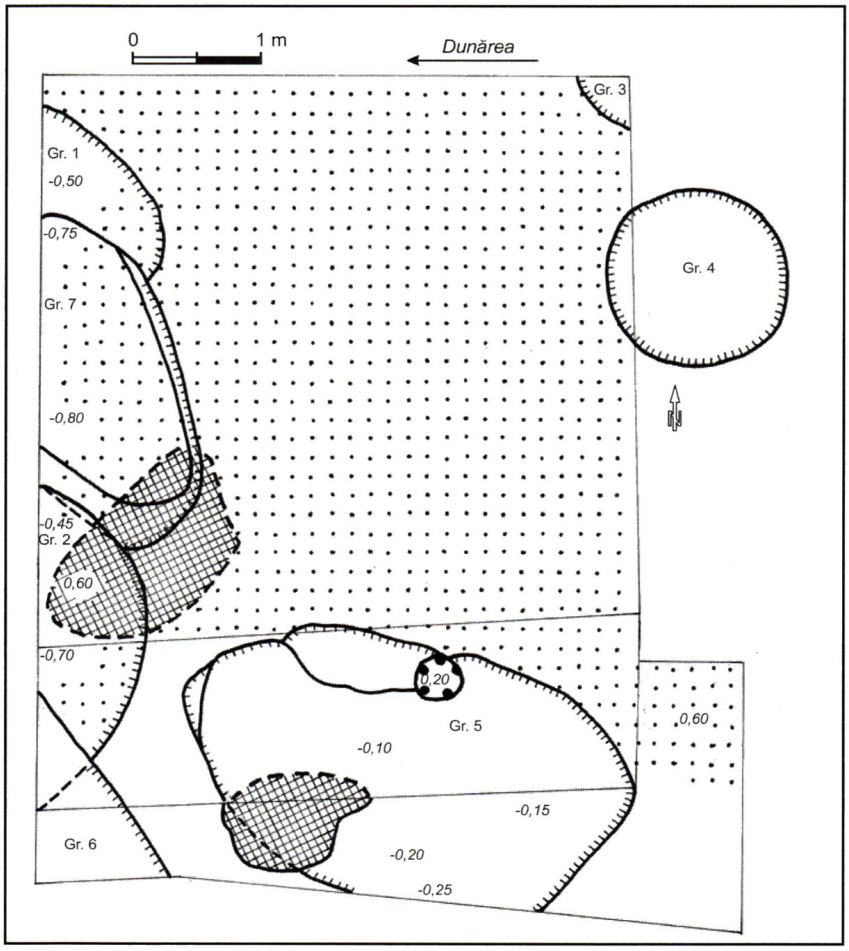

Abb. 2. Planum der Schnitte II, VIII, VIII-Süd mit Gruben, die zeitgleich, älter und jünger sind wie das unter Punkt a genannte Haus.

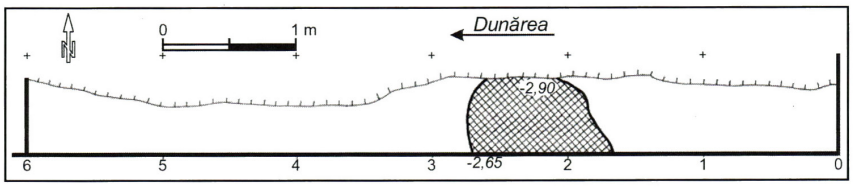

Abb. 3. Planum. Schnitt X mit oberem Niveau.

c) Gruben

Älter als die verbrannten ebenerdigen Häuser sind die Gruben 1, 2, 3 und 7 (Abb. 2), die entweder von der Basis oder während der Entstehung des ältesten Wohnniveaus eingetieft wurden, das grau und 10 cm dick ist, mit Holzkohle und Stücken verbrannten Tons, die anzeigen, daß bestimmte Konstruktionen in der Nähe standen. Die Gruben 1, 2 und 7 erschienen bereits zu Beginn der Ausgrabung am westlichen Profil der Schnitte II und VIII als ein einheitlicher Komplex, der von mir als eine Wohngrube interpretiert wurde, in ihrem Inneren war die Grube 1 eigentlich eine Eingangstufe. Später, nachdem alles ganz entnommen war, zeigte es sich, daß es sich eigentlich um mehrere mittelgroße Gruben handelte (bis 2,30 m lang), die nach-einander eingetieft wurden: zuerst Grube 1, die von Grube 7 geschnitten wurde, die wiederum ihrerseits von Grube 2 gestört wurde. Sie waren 70-80 cm tief (–4,40 bis –4,50 m unterhalb des Nullpunktes), oval, und es könnten entweder Vorratsgruben oder sogar eher Tonentnahmegrubenein.

Grube 4 war rund, hatte einen Dm. von 1,30–1,40 m, eine erhaltene Tiefe von 40 cm und war voll mit verbrannten Resten des Hauses von Punkt *a*. Bei ihr könnte es sich also um den Annex zu einem Haus handeln oder sie entstand später und durchschnitt ältere Reste mit denen sie verfüllt wurde. Dieser Lehm aus der Einfüllung der Grube, in der man auch Coțofeni-Keramikfragmente fand, wies Rutenabdrücke auf.

Die Hauskomplexe des Schnittes X

Er ist Ost-West-orientiert, mißt 6 x 3 m und am Anfang machte ich eigentlich einen Einschnitt in das höher gelegene Ufer, und wie immer war die Fläche mit den Wohnniveaus von Süden nach Norden abgeflacht, bedingt durch die Erosion des Flusses, da das Wasser einmal höher und einmal tiefer war. Vom Nullpunkt aus gesehen lag das Ufer etwa 2,65 m tiefer, die ergrabene Tiefe in der Kulturschicht betrug 90 cm, und man gelangte nicht bis zur Basis der Coțofenischicht.

Nachdem man die rezenten Alluvialschichten von bis. 25 cm weggeräumt hatte, erreichte man eine graue, granulöse Schicht mit Brandspuren am unteren Teil, und unter dieser Schicht folgte eine gelbe Ablagerung mit viel Asche, an ihrer Basis (ca. –2,90 m unterhalb des Nullpunktes) fand ich eine Feuerstelle aus Ton mit Glättungsspuren. Sie stellt offensichtlich den Rest eines Hauses dar, von dem man aber leider nur wenige Überreste retten konnte (Abb. 3).

Noch 20 cm tiefer (bei –3,10 m), fand man unterhalb dieses Hauses, am östlichen Ende des Schnittes, Fußbodenreste aus grünlichem Ton (Abb. 4), der wahrscheinlich nahe der Donau entnommen worden war. Im westlichen Teil dieses Hauses sind verbrannte Reste einer Wand (?). Unter diesem

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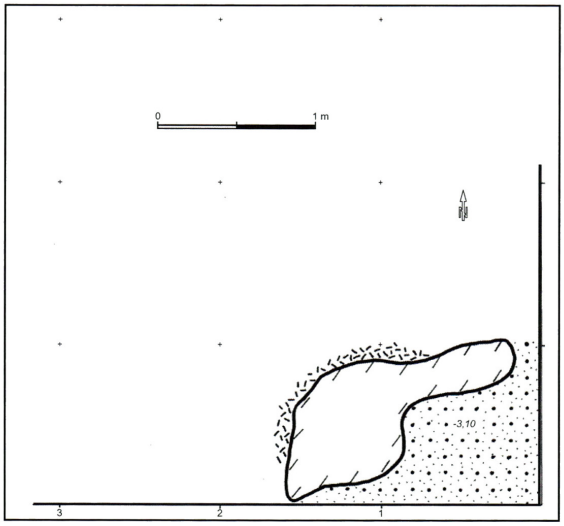

Abb. 4. Planum Schnitt X mit mittlerem Niveau.

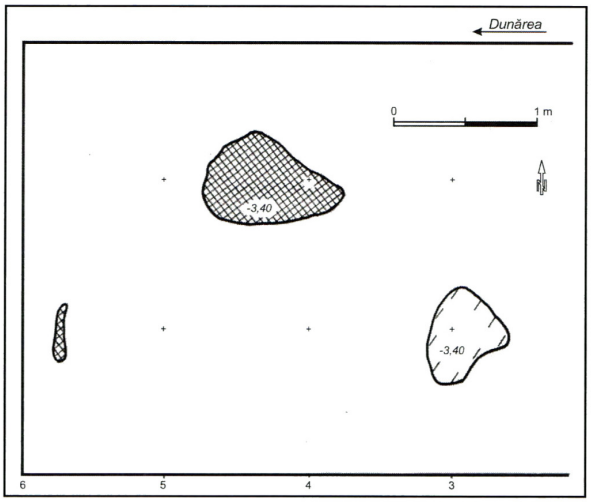

Abb. 5. Planum Schnitt X mit dem Niveau ab –1,40 m.

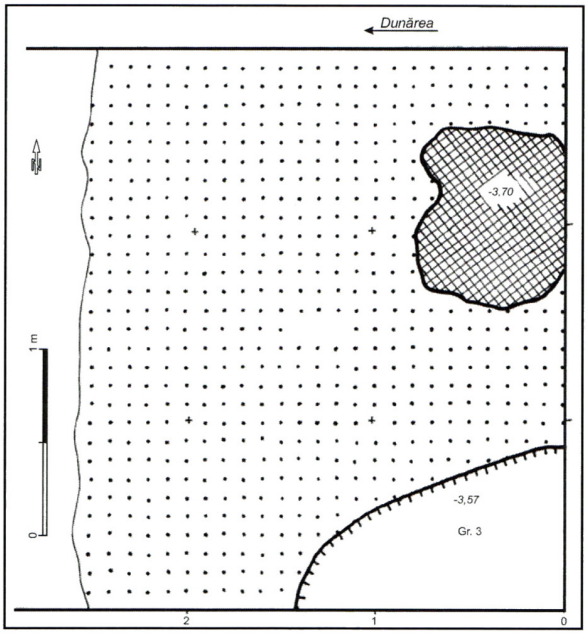

Abb. 6. Planum Schnitt X mit dem Niveau ab –1,70 m.

Bauniveau gibt es in der südöstlichen Ecke Grube 3 (Grube 1 ist frühmittelalterlich, Grube 2 nicht datierbar; Abb. 3), die voll mit Asche und Holzkohle war. Sie war nur 47 cm tief und hatte einen beträchtlichen Dm. (Abb. 6). Unter demselben Haus, bei ca. –3,20 m entdeckte man ein Keramikfragment mit typischem Kostolac-Muster. Tiefer 10 cm (bei –3,40 m), in der westlichen Hälfte der Fläche X und in ihrem nördlichen Teil erschienen Brandspuren: eine Feuerstelle *in situ*, eine andere war zerstört und Reste verbrannter Wände (Abb. 5).

Bei –3,70 m unterhalb des Nullpunktes stellte man ein anderes Bauniveau fest, das aus einer alten rechtwinkeligen Herdstelle (100 x 80 cm), mit Spuren eines Fußodens drumherum bestand, der eine Fläche von 2,60 x 3,00 m einnahm, ein Teil des Hauses in den südlichen, nördlichen und östlichen Profilen des Schnittes (Abb. 6) blieb unausgegraben.

Man entdeckte unter diesem Haus verbrannte Reste von Lehm und Asche, denen in der nordöstlichen Ecke eine andere Feuerstelle entspricht. Die Ausgrabung war leider bei einer Tiefe von –3,70 bis –3,90 m unterhalb des Nullpunktes zu Ende, aber nicht bevor man eine muldenartige Absenkung der Niveaus von Westen nach Osten und die Tatsache feststellen konnte, daß das älteste Haus in diesem Bereich eigentlich coțofenizeitlich war. In Schnitt X waren mindestens 5 aufeinanderfolgende Bauniveaus erhalten.

Die Coțofeni-Besiedlung in Schnitt XVII

Die Dimensionen sind 8 x 5 m, er befindet sich auf unebenem Gelände, wurde vom Fluß ausgewaschen, und zwar stufenförmig vom Süden nach Norden, er war sogar sehr tief erodiert, wobei der obere Teil der Fläche zwischen –2,00 m im südöstlichen und –2,38 m im südwestlichen Teil liegt.

Zwischen –2,30 und –2,90 m an der nördlichen Seite und zwischen –2,10 bis –2,38 m im zentralen Teil (alle Tiefenangaben beziehen sich auf den Nullpunkt) sind in diesem Schnitt auf verschiedenen Niveaus mehrere aufeinanderfolgende Coțofeni-Konstruktionen erhalten, die eigentlich auf einem fundleeren Boden liegen, und darunter folgten verbrannte Reste eines Sălcuța-Hauses.

Von oben nach unten gesehen befand sich die erste erhaltene Ablagerung (Niveau 1) meistens in der südöstlichen Sequenz (Qu. 1a). Diese Ablagerung war grau und es gab mehrere Gruben, es waren Pfostengruben oder sie dienten einem anderen Zweck und durchstießen entweder diese Ablagerung oder gehörten zu ihr.

Die zweite Ablagerung (Niveau 2) bestand aus Resten eines Hauses (Nr. 1) mit Feuerstelle in Qu. 1a und Fußboden aus gelbem Lehm in Qu. 1b–c (Abb. 7). Es wurden auch mehrere Pfostengruben freigelegt. Und der Boden sowie die Feuerstelle waren mit einer ganz uniformen gelblichen Schicht bedeckt, bei der es sich um zusammengefallene, aber nicht verbrannte Wände handelte. Das Haus lag bei –2,30 m unterhalb des Nullpunktes.

Und es gab auch ein drittes Niveau, unter dem Haus, das aus Asche und Holzkohle bestand.

Dieses Niveau bedeckte die Reste des Hauses Nr. 2 (Niveau 4) und bestand aus einem gelben Boden und einer sehr großen, zum Wärmen benützten Herd-

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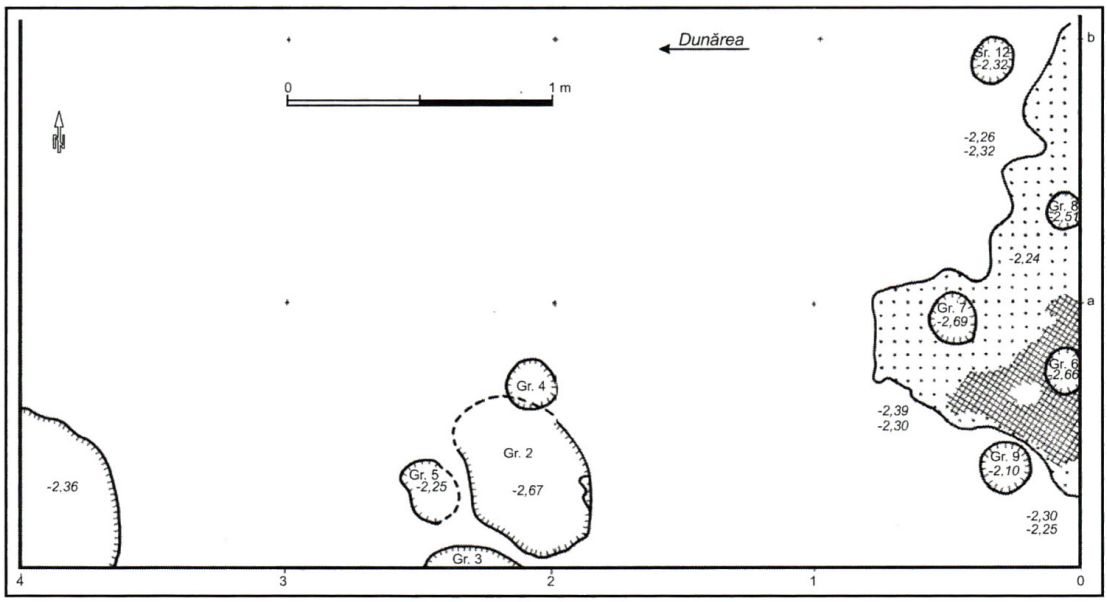

Abb. 7. Planum Schnitt XVII mit dem Haus aus Niveau 2.

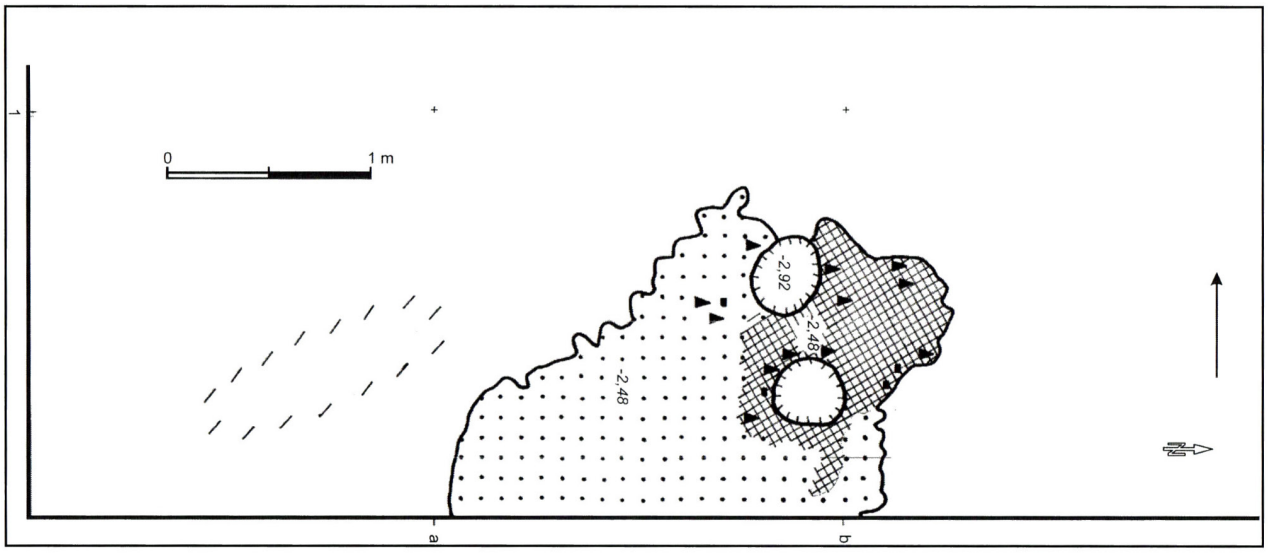

Abb. 8. Planum Schnitt XVII mit dem Haus aus Niveau 4 mit Feurstelle zum Wärmen.

stelle (“Ofen”) in Qu. 1b/c, die auf einem „Bett” aus Keramikfragmenten und umgedrehten Gefäßböden aufgebaut war. Sie waren in mehreren Reihen angeordnet, und zwar in einer rechtwinkligen Mulde im Lehm mit verbrannter Basis, die äußere Kontur war gelb und die Keramikbruchstücke lagen an der Basis. Zwei Pfostengruben aus einem oberen Niveau (?) störten die Feuerstelle des Hauses Nr. 2 (Abb. 8).

Feuerstellen, die zum Speichern der Wärme gebaut wurden, fielen auch auf in den Coțofeni-Häusern in Basarabi[14], und insbesondere in Băile Herculane in der Peştera Hoților (dt. Räuberhöhle)[15].

Bei einer Tiefe von –2,40 bis –2,50 m entdeckte man in Qu. 1a eine gelbe Ablagerung, die eigentlich von den Wänden des Hauses 2, von oben nach unten gezählt Niveau 4 (von oben nach unten), stammen sollte. Unter dieser gelblichen Ablagerung lag eine Brandschicht ähnlich der unter dem gesagten „Bett” aus Keramikfragmenten der Feuerstelle des Quadrates 1b/c.

Niveau 5 kam bei –2,52 bis –2,60 m zum Vorschein, besteht aus sehr viel Verbranntem und ist leicht von Westen nach Osten vertieft, so daß beim Bau des darüberliegenden Hauses 2 die Oberfläche über diesem verbrannten Teil nivelliert wurde und man die Unebenheiten hier und da mit gelbem Lehm.

Niveau 6, mit der Unterkante bei –2,85 m, besteht in den Quadraten 2–3c (das ist in Richtung Norden des Schnittes) aus einem Bauniveau, von dem noch der Rest eines Fußbodens und die Wand an der Stelle, an der sie sich krümmte erhalten war, ähnlich demjenigen aus Komplex L_1 in Schnit XII (vgl. Abb. 14/c–d mit Abb. 8).

An der Basis fand man eine Ablagerung aus Asche und Holzkohle, und die Ausgrabung konnte in der alluvialen sterilen Schicht und der Sălcuța-Schicht, die angefangen mit diesem Schnitt in Richtung Osten zum Vorschein kam, tiefer geführt werden.

[14] Roman 1976, 16 und Abb. 6.

[15] Roman 1976, 16 und Abb. 7/2.

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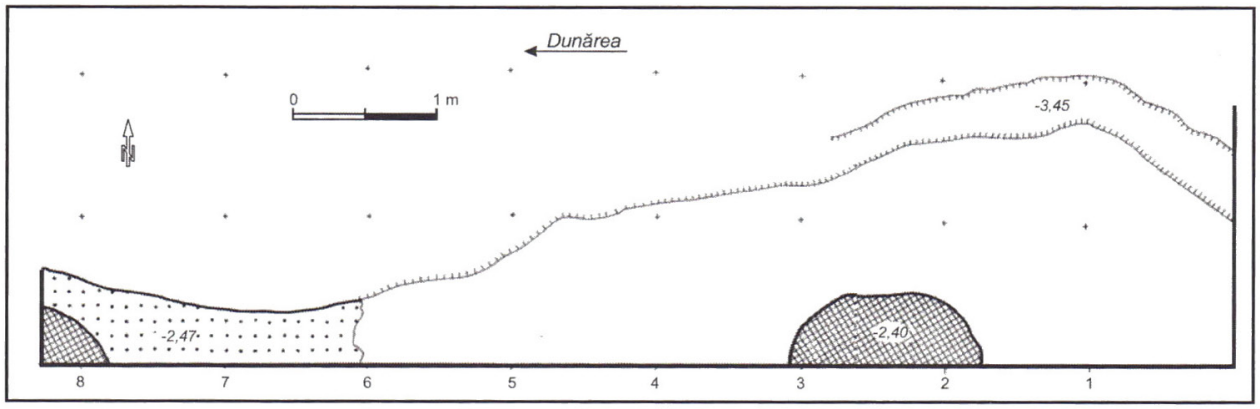

Abb. 9. Planum Schnitt XXVI mit dem jüngsten Bauniveau mit Feuerstelle zum Wärmen.

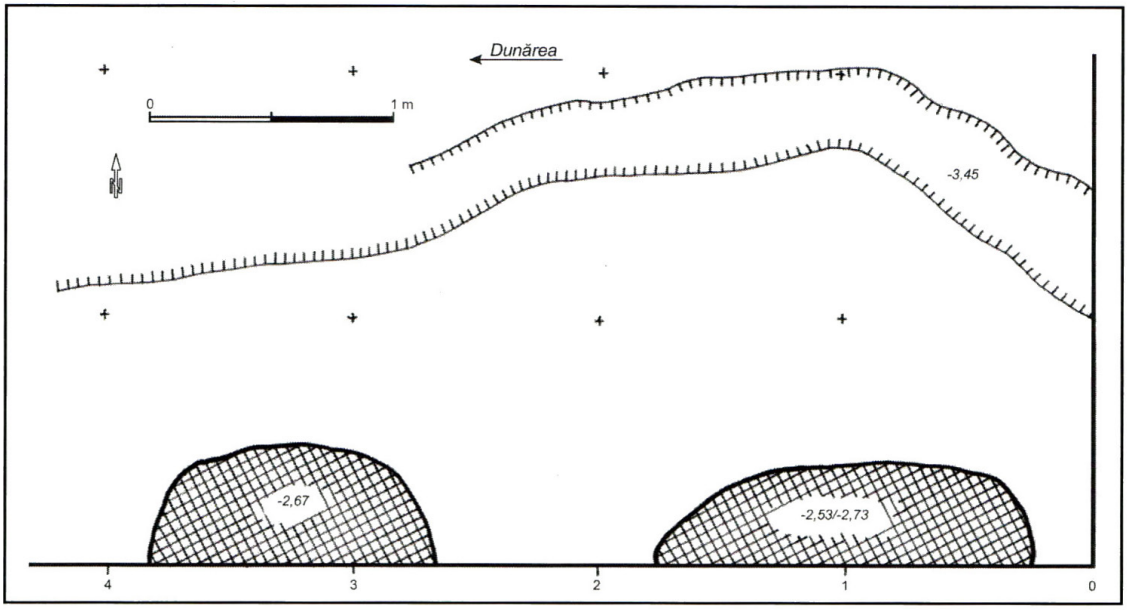

Abb. 10. Planum Schnitt XXVI mit Feuerstellen.

Die Coțofeni-Bauten in S. XXVI

Anhand des südlichen, 8 Meter langen Profils, das von Westen nach Osten orientiert ist, und dem nördlichen, das vom Flußwasser abgefressen ist, konnte man in dem neuen Schnitt die Stratigraphie einer sehr dicht bewohnten Zone feststellen. Die Breite dieses Schnittes schwankte zwischen 40 cm und 2 Metern (Abb. 9), die Ausgrabung begann bei –2,00 m.

Zuerst wurde die 40 cm dicke alluviale Schicht an dieser Stelle weggeräumt, und darunter fand man schon bei –2,40 m in Qu. 3 eine Feuerstelle zum Wärmen (Abb. 9) mit Resten eines gelblichen Tonbodens in den Quadraten 6-8 und eine Feuerstelle zum Kochen in der SW-Ecke von Qu. 8, die sich, wie der Boden, bei –2,47 m befand (Abb. 9). Die Feuerstelle zum Wärmen war, ähnlich wie andere aus Ostrovul Corbului und aus Ausgrabungsorten mit Coțofeni[16], auf einem „Bett" aus Keramikfragmenten und auf Stücken verbrannter Erde aufgebaut, darüber folgte eine dicke Lehmschicht, die die Oberfläche des eigentlichen Feuerstelle bildete.

Bei –2,53 m, mit der Basis bei –2,73 m, entdeckte man in den Quadraten 1-2 am südlichen Profil (Abb. 10) eine andere Herdstelle zum Wärmen, die aus 2 Lagen Keramikfragmenten bestand, wobei jede Lage aus mehreren Reihen gebaut war mit verbranntem Lehm dazwischen, und darüber erst wurde die Herdstelle gebaut[17], teilweise durchschnitt die Herdstelle die oben beschriebene (vgl. Abb. 9 mit Abb. 10).

Etwas tiefer erschien in den Quadraten 3-4, bei –2,67 m eine andere Herdstelle aus stark verbranntem Lehm, die auf einem Pflaster aus keramischen Fragmenten angelegt war (Abb. 10).

Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß diese Herdstellen nacheinander wieder neu entstanden, vielleicht sogar während derselben Siedlungsphase.

Bei –2,80 m liegt das Laufniveau, von dem aus man im nördlichen Teil der Quadrate 1-2 durch Planieren die Basis für ein Haus schaffte (Abb. 11/b). Das südliche Ende des Hauses war etwa 20 cm in die Erde vertieft, die so entstandene Grubenwande war mit gelbem Lehm verstrichen (Abb. 11/c). Auch das Laufniveau entlang der Wand wurde so mit Lehm verstrichen (Abb. 11/c).

Das älteste Coțofeni-Niveau besteht aus Resten eines Fußbodens in Qu. 8, es gibt Brandspuren in den Quadraten 6-7 und in den Quadraten 3-5 befindet sich eine Grube mit dem Dm. von 2,30 m (Abb. 11/a). Die Grube wurde bei –2,86 m eingetieft und

[16] Roman 1976, 16 und Abb. 6, 7/2; s.o. Anm. 13, 14.

[17] Roman 1996, Abb. 13b.

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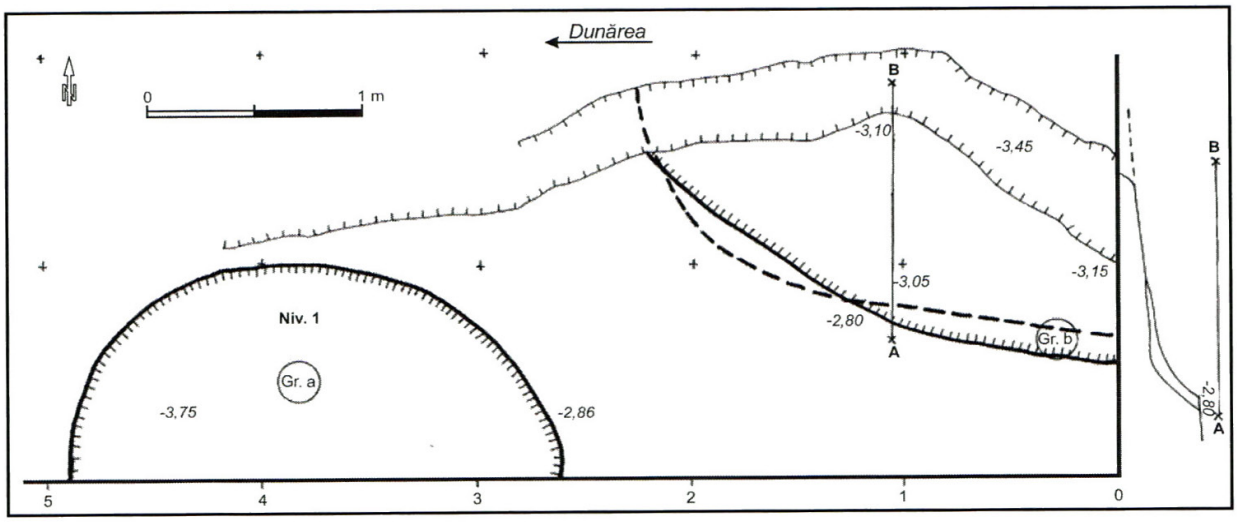

Abb. 11. Planum Schnitt XXVI mit eingetieftem Haus (I, II) und Grube aus dem ältesten Niveau (III).

reichte 100 cm tief bis in die Sălcuța-Schicht[18]. Am Südprofil lag die Basis der Coțofeni-Schicht bei –2,80 m und bedeckte eine alluviale sterile, nachsălcuța-zeitliche Schicht, die durch mehrere Gruben gestört war.

Schnitt XXV

Mit einer Länge von 4 Meter in Richtung Ost-West und zwischen 1 bis 4 Meter Breite in Richtung Nord-Süd, war dieser Schnitt dafür gedacht, daß er das Profil ergänzt und man einige Abschnitte der Coțofeni- und Sălcuța-Kultur freilegt. Wie auch in anderen Schnitten war dieser Bereich durch Wassererosion ausgefressen, wodurch ein beträchtlicher Teil der archäologischen Ablagerungen weggeschwemmt worden war.

Die Ausgrabungen begannen bei –2,00 bis –2,10 m und reichten bis in eine Tiefe von –2,70 m in der Reste von Feuerstellen und von Coțofeni-zeitlichen Fußböden erschienen. Es gibt bis –3,00 m in der sterilen alluvialen Schicht Einsprengsel und Störungen, die aus der Coțofeni-Schicht herrühren. Eine ovale, 2,00 x 1,20 m große Grube (Abb. 12) war voll mit Asche, Holzkohle und Erdklumpen, ihre Basis lag zwischen –3,00 und –3,18 m. Die Grube durchschnitt die Reste eines Sălcuța-Hauses.

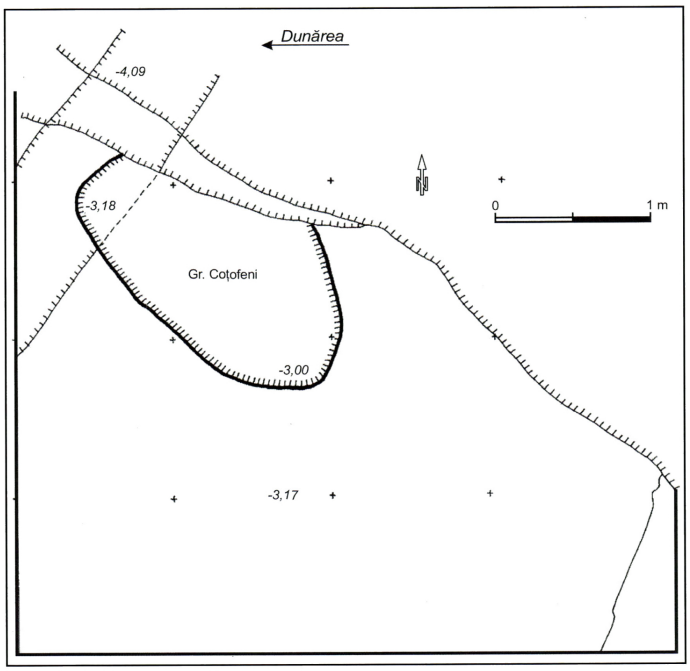

Abb. 12. Planum Schnitt XXV, in die Sălcuța-Ablagerun eingetiefte Coțofenigrube.

Die Komplexe aus den Schnitten XII

Die Schnitte XII (a-l) lagen eigentlich auf der mittleren Stufe der Siedlung in Sektor A, es war eine Geländestufe, über die die Staatsgrenze verlief, und deshalb natürlich ständig von den Grenztruppen durchpflügt wurde, so daß bei jeder Überschwemmung die so durchwühlte Erde sehr leicht flußabwärts weggeschwemmt wurde.

Somit erschienen infolge dieser Abschwemmung durch das Wasser sogar im Ufer und in der Fläche Reste eines großen Haus mit Materialien der Coțofeni-Kultur, und als sie in den Jahren 1975-1976 freigelegt wurden, bildete man aus den aufeinanderfolgenden Ausgrabungen auf einigen Ebenen *ad hoc* eine einzige Fläche[19] (Abb. 13).

Die nördliche Hälfte (zur Donau hin) dieser Reste war von rezenten Alluvialschichten überlagert. Dagegen war ihr südlicher Teil von Niveaus mit etwas jüngeren Konstruktionen bedeckt, die auf verschiedenen Segmenten erhalten waren (Abb. 13; 14 C). Der Fundkomplex, auf den gleich eingegangen werden wird, überdeckt ebenfalls, entweder direkt eine alluviale fundleere Schicht[20] oder hier und da Reste eines etwas älteren Coțofeni-Siedlungsniveaus. So gibt es in Schnitt XII, in den Quadraten 5-6b-c die Plattform einer Konstruktion L_1, die die Reste verbrannten Tons bedeckt, in den Quadraten 1–3 gibt es Segmente mit Coțofeni-Material und in Qu. 3 eine Grube mit Coțofeni-Resten (Abb. 13). In Schnitt XII-a erschienen unter dem Niveau der Plattform und außerhalb von ihr, dem Süden zu Teile einer rot gebrannten Herdstelle und Reste aus gelbem Ton. In Schnitt XII-c erschienen

[18] *ibidem.*

[19] Roman 1987, Abb. 3; Roman 1996, 15 ff., 49 f. und Abb. 5-6.

[20] Roman 1987, 347 f.; Roman 1996, 20, 49 f. und Taf I/1-2, 4, III/1.

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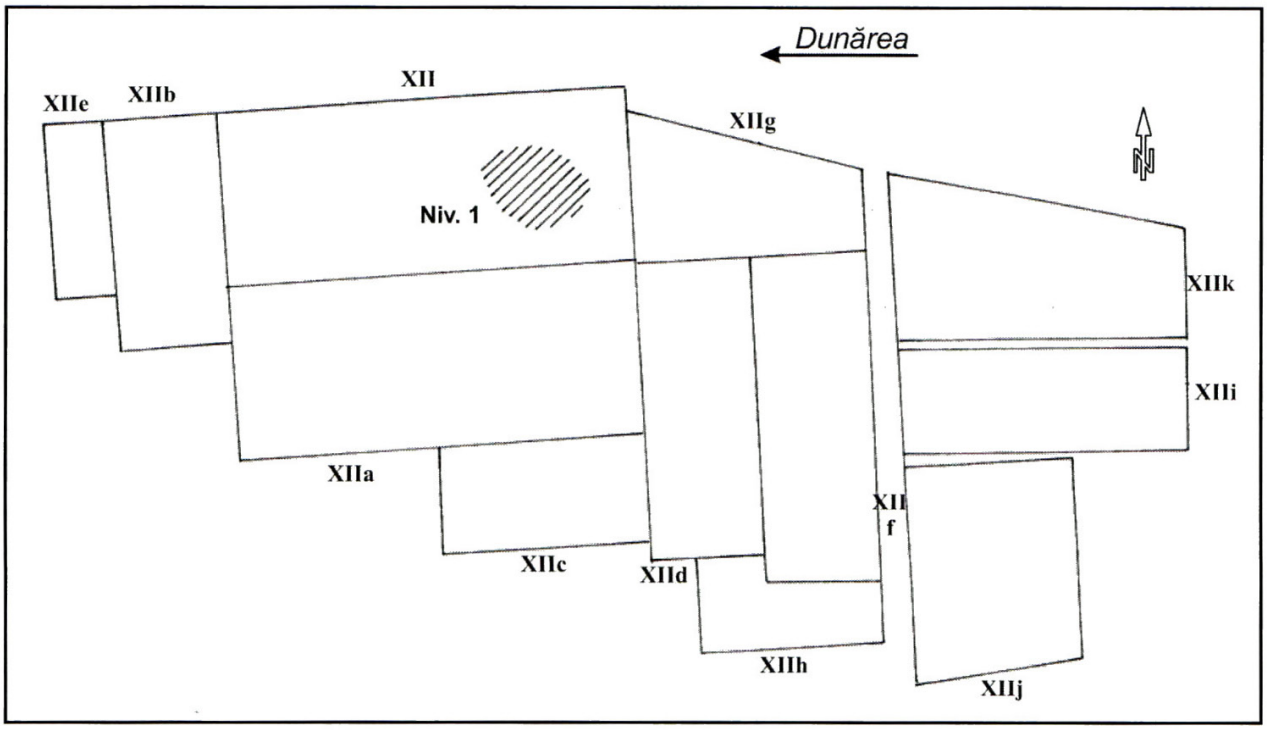

Abb. 13. Planum Schnitt XII a–k. Niv. 1.

bei –2,75 m, also leicht unterhalb des Komplexes L_1 Keramikfragmente mit rotem Überzug und ein Vučedol-Fragment. In Schnitt XII-b wurden bei der Anlage der Plattform L_1 ältere Unebenheiten ausgeglichen und auf einigen Abschnitten bedeckte sie ein rot verbranntes Lehmniveau. Manchmal handelt es sich vielleicht sogar um Erneuerungen des Fußbodens des Hauses, vielleicht aber auch um ältere Coțofeni-Konstruktionen. Im Bereich der Schnitte XII, XII-a und XII-b liegt also das älteste Coțofeni-Wohnniveau, das aus verstreuten Überresten besteht, und zwar zwischen der postsălcuța-zeitlichen alluvialen Schicht und der Plattform des Komplexes L_1.

Komplex L_1 *(Abb.14 A-C)*

Nachdem die ganze Fläche freigelegt war, fand man verstreut Reste des Komplexes, der eigentlich die Bezeichnung „Haus L_1" bekam, und, wie es sich zeigte, parallel zur Donau in Richtung OSO-WNW orientiert war. Komplex L_1 war sehr gut erhalten, nur das westliche Endes war infolge wiederholter Überschwemmungen des Militärgrenzstreifens und der Erosion des Ufers gestört.

Seine südliche Langseite war mit ungefähr 15 m Länge sehr gut erhalten. Die östliche Seite war ganz schmal und maß in der Breite 5 Meter, die nördliche konnte man in der Fläche auf 9 Meter Länge als klare Linie beobachten. Danach verbreiterte sie sich nach weiteren 2 Metern zur Außenseite hin, wurde

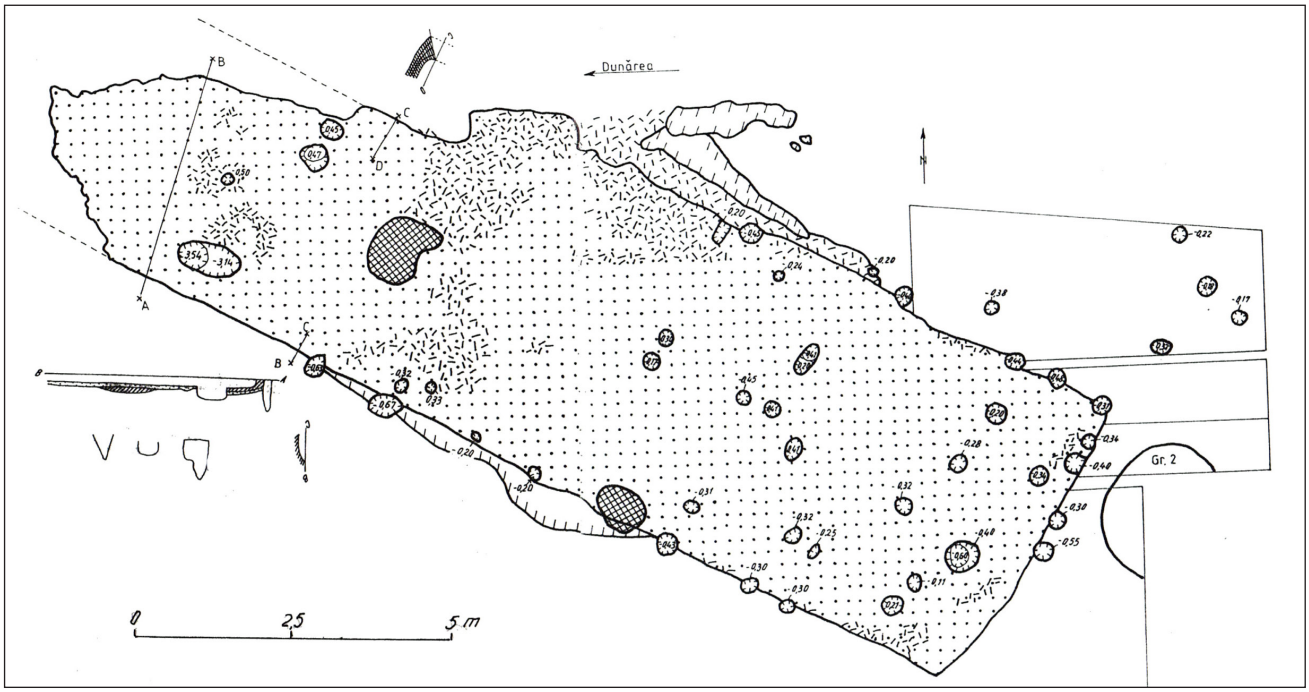

Abb. 14 A. Planum Schnitt XII a-k. Komplex L1 mit Profilen.

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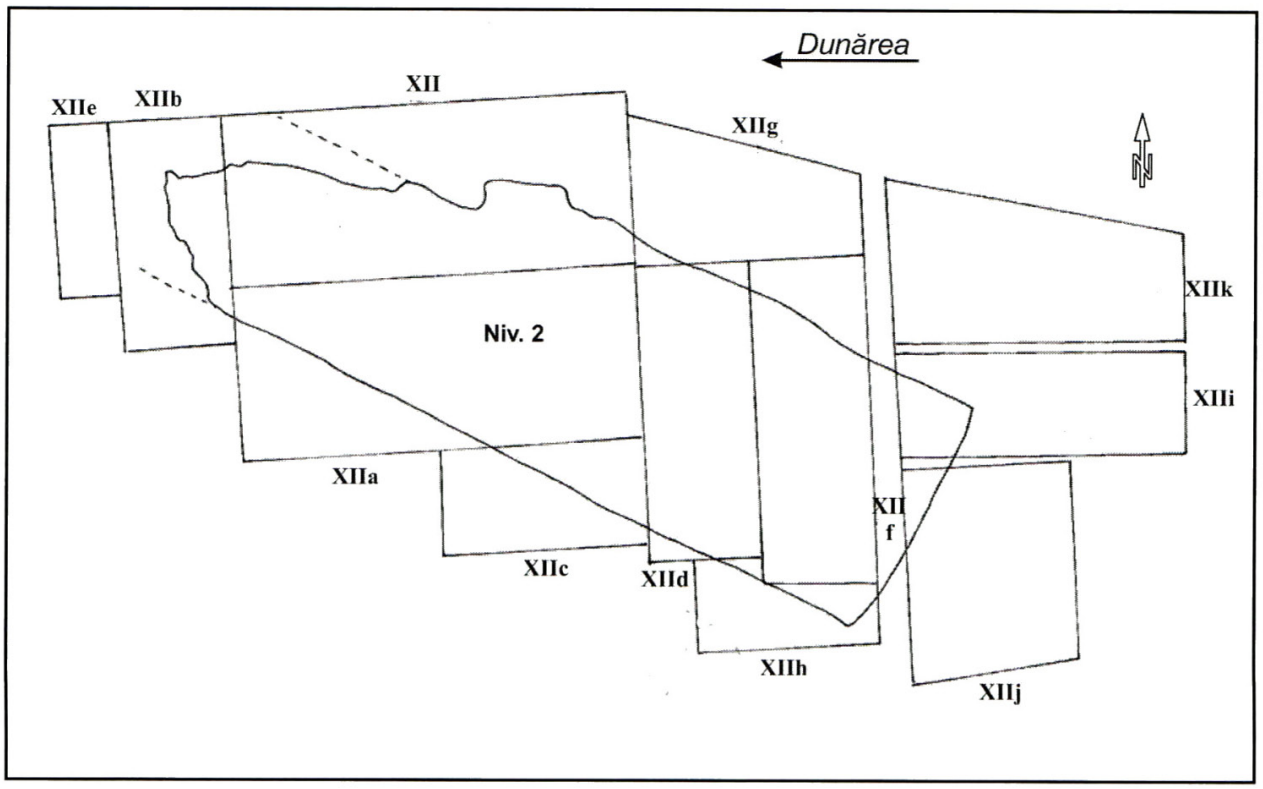

Abb. 14 B. Planum Schnitt XII a-k Komplex L1.

dann wieder um einen Meter enger und schien bis an das westliche Ende weiterzulaufen, wo sie zerstört war. „Haus 1" hat also die Form des Buchstabens L, wobei die Basis aber verdickt ist (Abb. 14 A-B). Am nordöstlichen Ende gab es mehrere Pfostengruben, die für die Existenz eines Vor-/Nebenraumes (?) oder eines Anbaus sprechen müßten, der an diese Konstruktion angefügt wurde und eine Fläche von 2 x 2 m aufwies (Abb. 14 A). Die erhaltene Fläche des Komplexes L_1, ohne den Annex, beträgt 76 m^2 (der eine Teil mißt 10,40 x 5,00 m und der zweite, aber nicht ganz erhalten gebliebene 6,00 x 4,00 m).

Die Konstruktion des Gebäudes. Größtenteils lag der Fußboden über der bläulichen, sterilen Lehmschicht, die sich infolge der nachsălcuța-zeitlichen Überschwemmungen und den Versumpfungsprozessen gebildet hatte. Partiell bedeckte sie Teile eines älteren Siedlungsniveaus mit Konstruktionen außerhalb dieses Gebietes, vermutlich mehr dem Westen und Norden zu. Nachdem sowohl diese unebenen Flächen als auch diejenigen mit kleinen Gruben „verschlossen" wurden, bedeckte man die ganze Oberfläche des zukünftigen Komplexes mit einer gelben, 4-5 cm dicken Lehmschicht (Abb. 14 A). Stellenweise ist dieser Boden sehr stark bis rot verbrannt. In dem Bereich der vertikalen Wände stellte ich beim Durchschneiden einiger Teile am nördlichen (Abb. 14 B) und südlichen (Abb. 14 A) Profil fest, daß es sich um das wiederholte Anstreichen von Lehm entlang der vertikalen Wand handelte, die mehrfach während des Baus des Komplexes durch Feuer gehärtet wurden. Außerhalb der südlichen Wand, in Schnitt XII-a, hatten sich an seiner Basis die Spuren eines längs gelegten Balkens erhalten, der während der Errichtung des Komplexes L_1 anscheinend verbrannt wurde. Außerhalb des Bereichs des aufeinanderfolgenden Anstreichens scheint der Fußodens vor dem Ende des Baus durch Feuer gehärtet worden zu sein, inbesondere entlang der Vertikalwände. Eine ähnliche Situation habe ich in der Siedlung Coțofeni- mit sehr vielen Kostolac-und Vučedol-Elementen-festgestellt, die sich auf der Anhöhe Humca, auf der Donauinsel Moldova Veche[21] befand. Dort waren die dicken Lehmfußböden dieser Häuser teilweise mittels nacheinander entzündeter Feuer über diesem Lehm gebrannt. In Moldova Veche geschah dieser Vorgang auch, weil diese Bauten über einer eolian (vom Wind) Sandschicht errichtet worden waren.

Die Wände des "Komplexes" L_1 von Ostrovul Corbului waren noch 10-14 cm hoch erhalten, ihre Breite an der Basis variierte zwischen 14-30 cm.

Die Pfostengruben lagen in einer Reihe, inner- und außerhalb der Wände, hatten einen Dm. von 20 und 30 cm und waren 30-50 cm tief. Drei dieser Gruben hatten einen Dm. zwischen 30 und 50 cm und eine Tiefe zwischen 43 und 70 cm, und zwei andere – aus dem Inneren des Komplexes, von den Pfösten, der das Haus stützte – wiesen einen Dm. von ca. 40 cm und eine Tiefe von 60 bzw. 85 cm auf. Die Mehrzahl der Gruben entlang der Wände und der Stützpfosten innen zeigten, daß es sich um am Ende zugespitzte Pfosten handelte (Abb. 14 A); andere im Inneren gehören zu Pfosten, die unten abgeschnitten sind und denen eine Funktion als vertikale Stützen zukam (Abb.14 A).

Nach den verbrannten Erdstücken mit Spuren von Eindrücken zu urteilen, scheint es, daß die Wände

[21] Von Petre Roman durchgeführte, unpublizierte Ausgrabung von 1967. Kurze Informationen dazu bei Roman 1976, 16, 83; Roman 1980, 224.

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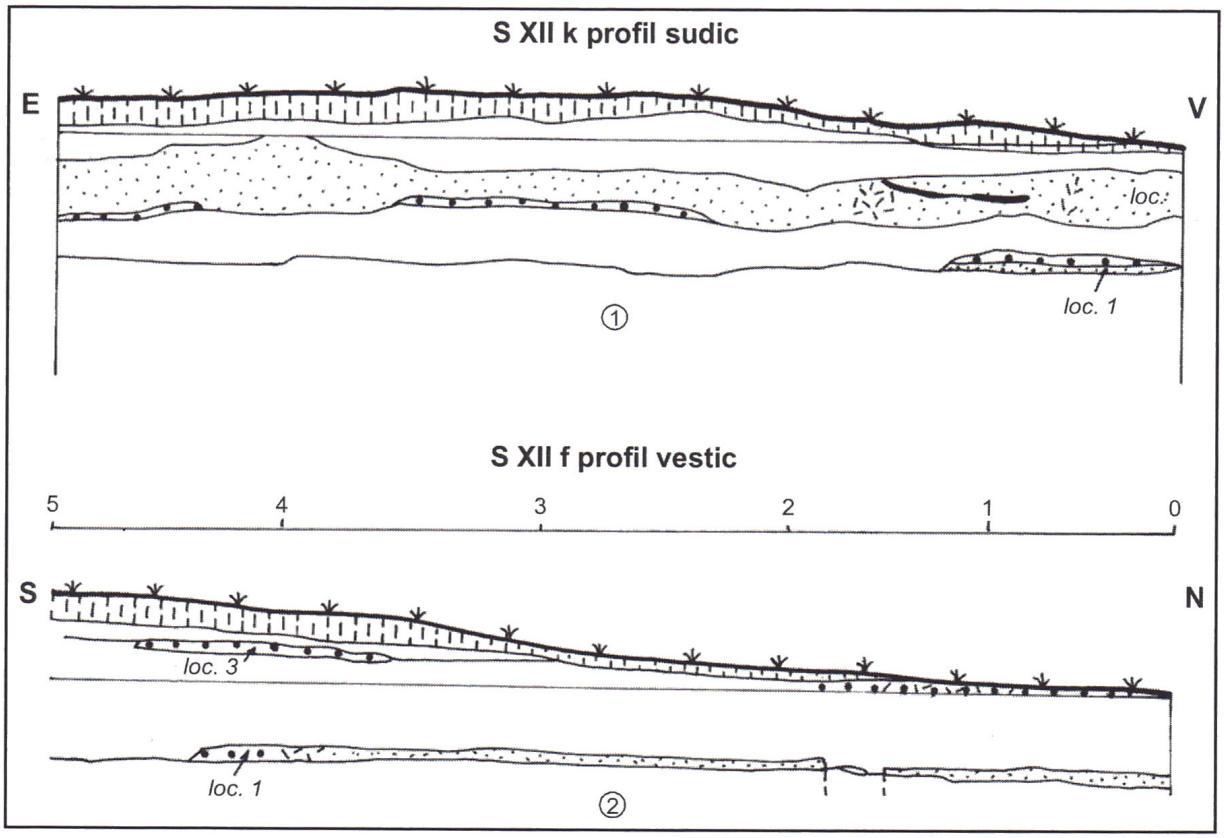

Abb. 14 C. Planum XII k, SW Profil (1); XII f Westprofil (2).

aus Flechtwerk bestanden, das um diese Pfosten und Unterstützungspfosten herumgeführt und mit Ton verstrichen wurde. Die weiße oder violetblaue mit Holzkohle durchsetzte Asche zeigte, daß man zum Bau der Konstruktion Weichholz benutzte und für das Dach Schilfrohr verwendete.

Von der Anordnung der Pfostenlöcher ausgehend, kann man sich vorstellen wie dieser Komplex in mehrere Räume aufgeteilt war, insbesondere im östlichen Teil (Abb. 14 A).

Eine richtige Feuerstelle aus Lehm war im Zentrum von Komplex L_1 zu beobachten, und zwar an der Grenze zwischen dem breiten und dem schmalen Teil (Abb. 14 A).

Im Komplex wurde nur wenig archäologisches Material entdeckt, aber es ist möglich, daß ein Teil der Funde vom Wasser weggeschwemmt wurde. Man barg einige Keramikfragmente, darunter eines mit Kostolac- und Vučedolverzierung, eine Tasse mit überrandständigem Henkel, ein Armband. Die Erde in dieser Zone war aber sehr durchwühlt. Schließlich fand man ein Axtfragment aus Granit, und zwar in einer 30 cm dicken Achenschicht, die den Komplex bedeckte und sich meist nach Süden zu ausdehnte. Zusammen mit dieser Axt erschienen auch Keramik, Knochen und Holzkohle. Ein Angelhaken aus Kupfer wurde an der Basis der Coțofenischicht in Schnitt XII-k, Qu. 2 entdeckt, also einer ungefähr zeitgleichen Periode mit Komplex L_1.

In der südwestlichen Ecke des Schnittes XII-h (Abb. 14 B) wurde, vom Niveau des Komplexes aus, die Grube 5 angelegt, die 65 cm tief war und in der man eine Pfeilspitze und Coțofeni-Keramikfragmente fand. Eine andere große Grube (Nr. 10) wurde ebenfalls beim Niveau des Komplexes ausgegraben.

Bezogen auf den Nullpunkt befindet sich Komplex L_1 in einer Tiefe von –2,65 m.

Das Haus wurde durch einen Brand zerstört. Das beweisen sehr stark verbrannte Lehmstücke und darunter findet man auch viel Holzkohle, die von weichem Holz stammt, Holzkohle[22], die eigentlich den gelben Ton des Fußbodens gerötet oder geschwärzt hat. An manchen Stellen über diesem Fußboden und der Holzkohle trafen wir noch auf eine Schicht gelben Lehm mit Kalkkonkretionen, die von nicht verbrannten Wänden stammen.

Spätere Konstruktionen des Komplexes L_1

Sie begegnen in Form von aufeinanderfolgenden Resten einiger Herd- und Feuerstellen sowie Lehmfußböden, und zwar in mindestens zwei neuen Bauniveaus: Ein mittleres bedeckt direkt die Überreste des Komplexes L_1 mit Resten, die mehr in der zentralen Zone der Schnitte XII (Abb. 14 C/1-2; 15-16) erhalten waren, und ein jüngeres war im südlichen Teil der Flächen XII erhalten (Abb. 17). Allerdings dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß dieses abgeflachte Terrain ein von Süden nach Norden schräg abfallender Abhangist, und nur auf dem südlichen, höher gelegenenTeil blieben jüngere Niveaus des Komplexes L_1 erhalten (Abb. 14 C; 15-17).

Das nächstfolgende Niveau über Komplex L_1 (also das dritte von unten nach oben) ist überliefert durch Reste von Feuer und Herdstellen und Fußböden in den Quadraten 3-4 und 6-7 in Schnitt XII (Abb. 15-16), die 0,25 m unterhalb der heutigen (d.h. z.Zt.

[22] Aus Schnitt XII-a; s.o. Anm. 11.

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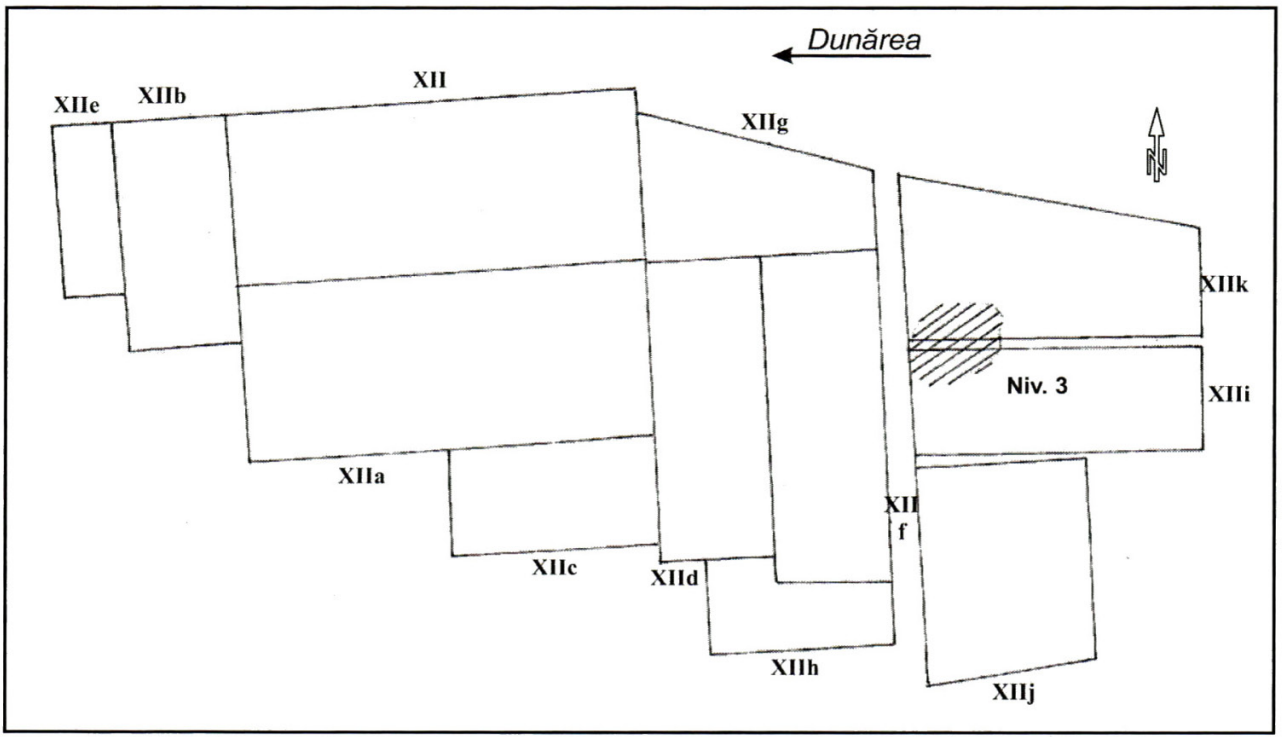

Abb. 15. Planum Schnitt XII-i–k. Auf L1 folgende Konstruktionen aus Niveau 3.

der Ausgrabung) Oberfläche und bei einer Tiefe von –2,55 m, bezogen auf den Nullpunkt, zum Vorschein kamen; in Qu. 2 des Schnittes XII-f erschienen 0,25 m unterhalb der Oberfläche Reste des Fußbodens „in situ"(Abb. 16); in Schnitt XII-g, in der östlichen Ecke und der südwestlichen Hälfte (Abb. 16) entdeckte man 30 cm über Komplex L_1 (also bei –2,35 m) Reste eines verbrannten Fußbodens eines Hauses, die durch das Durchpflügen der im Grenzbereich liegenden Landzunge zerstört wurden; Reste von gelbem Ton fand man in der südwestlichen Ecke von Schnitt XII-h 20 cm oberhalb des Lehms von Komplex L_1 (Abb. 16). Repräsentativ für das Bauniveau 3 ist auch ein Komplex in der nordwestlichen Zone von Schnitt XII-i und der südlichen von Schnitt XII-k (Abb. 15), der teilweise die Reste von Komplex L_1 bedeckte. In beiden Schnitten kam, ab 30 bis 35 cm unterhalb der Ackeroberfläche, eine gelbliche Tonablagerung zum Vorschein, die eine geglättete Herdstelle aus Lehm bedeckte. Diese Herdstelle überlagerte ihrerseits eine andere (Herd mit seitlichem Rand oder Ofen?- Abb. 15) mit einem Dm. von über einem Meter, die in der Mitte, infolge lange währender Benutzung, sehr stark zerstört war. Es gibt etwas nördlicher,

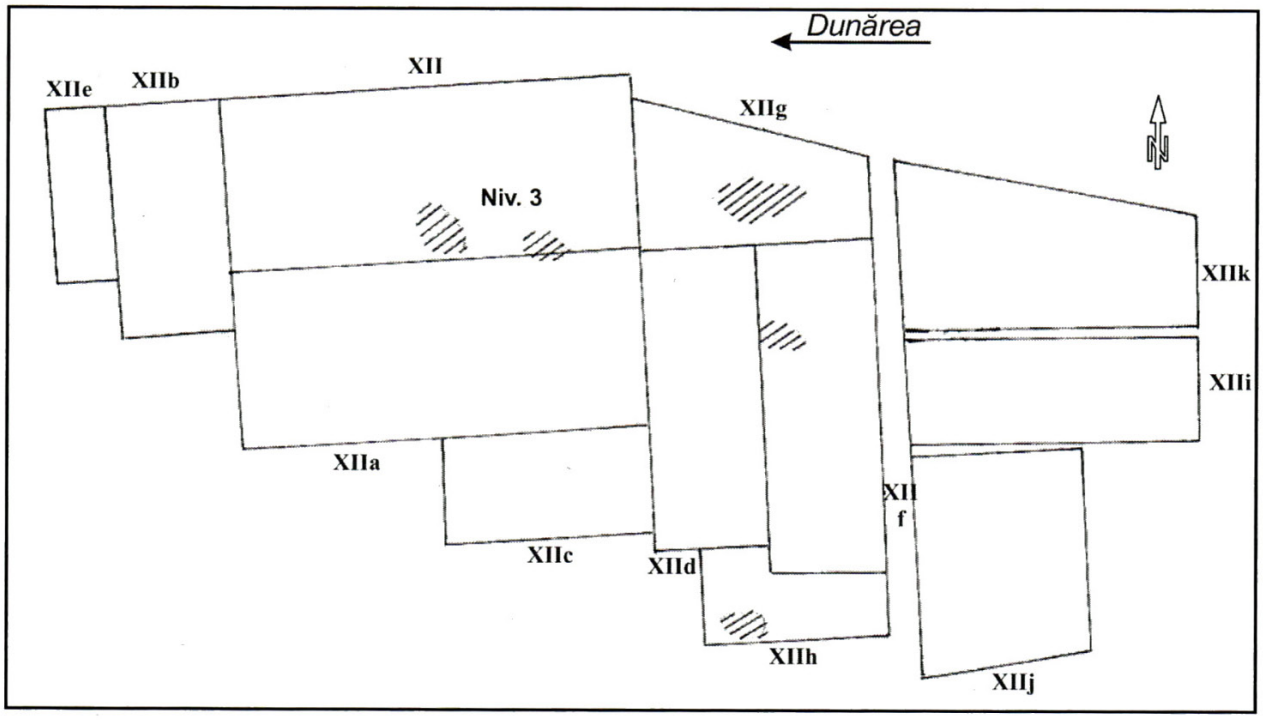

Abb. 16. Planum Schnitt XII, XII f, g, h, i, k. Konstruktionen aus Niveau 3 junger als L1.

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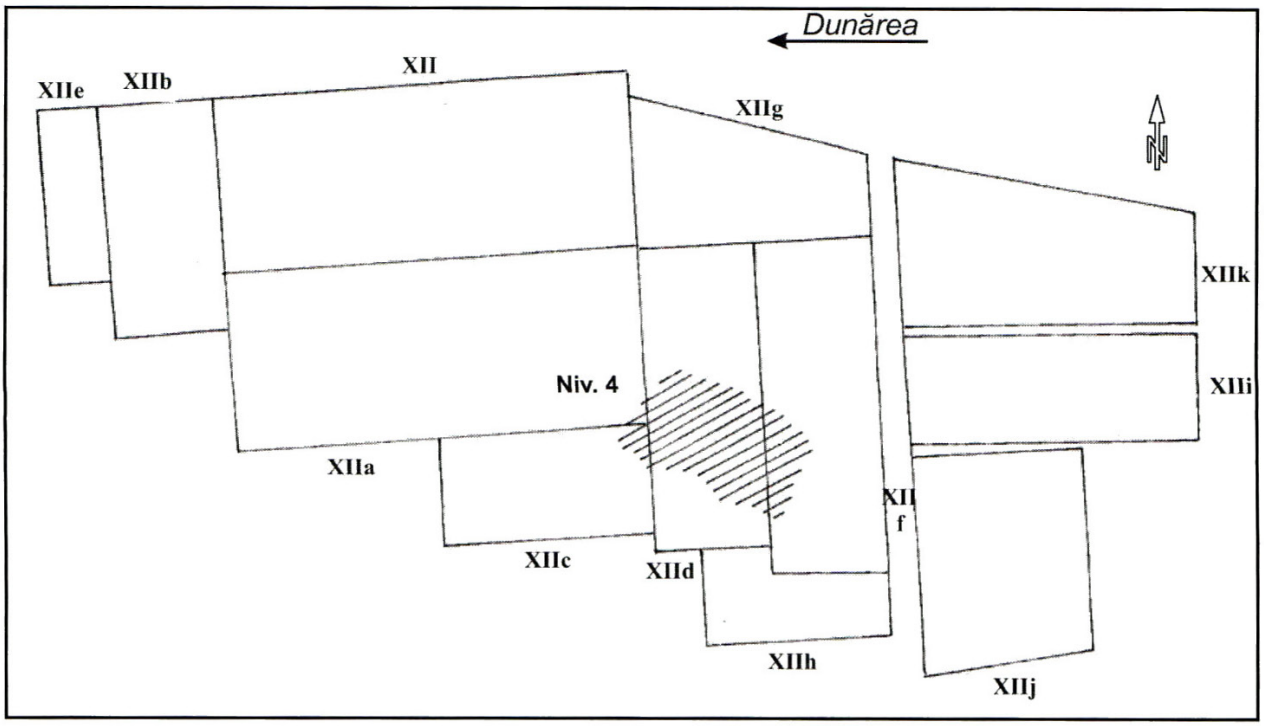

Abb. 17. Planum Schnitt XII-c, XII-f, XII-d. Konstruktionen aus Niveau 4.

in der Mitte der westlichen Hälfte von Schnitt XII-k (Abb. 15) Reste einer Feuerstelle aus. Ein Querprofil des südlichen Profils von Schnitt XII-k (Abb. 14 C/1) belegte die Existenz eines Fußbodens aus Ton eines Hauses, über dem sich mehrere gelbe Ablagerungen einiger Wände von einem verbrannten zerstörten Hauses befanden. Auf diesem Fußboden fand man drei über-einanderliegende Feuerstellen: die unterste und die oberste waren ganz flach, und die mittlere mit seitlichem Rand.

Eine große, ovale Grube (2) mit einem Dm. von 2,10 m (Abb. 14 A) durchbrach die ersten 3 Coţofeniniveaus und reichte bis –3,05 m tief unterhalb des Nullpunktes und erreichte auch die Sălcuţa-Schicht.

Ein viertes Bauniveau war nur im südlichen Teil der Schnitte XII-c, -d und -f erhalten (Abb. 17), und zwar in Form von Resten eines ebenerdigen Hauses, dessen nördliche Kontur durch das Durchpflügen der Grenzstreifens zerstört war, der Rest war auch zerstört. Das Haus befand sich im östlichen Teil von Schnitt XII-c, in den westlichen Quadraten 3-5 von Schnitt XII-d und scheinbar auch im westlichen Teil von Schnitt XII-f, wo man in einer Tiefe von 0,45 m auf dem südlichen Profil des Schnittes (Abb. 17) Segmente von Fußböden fand. Ein Fläche aus gelbem Ton von 0,80 x 0,40 m befindet sich im nördlichen, zentralen Teil des Schnittes XII-h 35 cm unterhalb der Oberfläche und könnte auch im Zusammenhang mit diesem Haus stehen (vielleicht ein Teil der Wand?). Die erhaltenen Maße scheinen zwischen 4 Meter in Ost-West-Richtung und 3 Meter im Nord-Süd-Teil zu liegen. Die Reste des Hauses befinden sich vom Nullpunkt aus ausgesehen in einer Tiefe von –2,05 bis –2,10 m, sie bestehen aus bis stark rot verbrannten Teilen des Fußbodens und einer teilweise zerstörten Herdstelle ausLehm, die sich im östlichen Teil von Schnitt XII-c befand. Sie bedeckte eine ungefähr 30 cm dicke Schicht aus ganz weißer Asche, die sehr leicht zu graben war, in der man Keramikfragmente, Knochen und Holzkohlestücke und das Fragment einer Granitaxt (siehe auch etwas höher die Beschreibung von L_1) fand.

In Schnitt XII-e legte man in den Quadraten a–b einen Teil einer sehr großen Grube frei, die eigentlich die Sălcuţa-Ablagerungen (und sogar ein Haus) durchbohrt und bis in das epipaläolithische Niveau vertieft

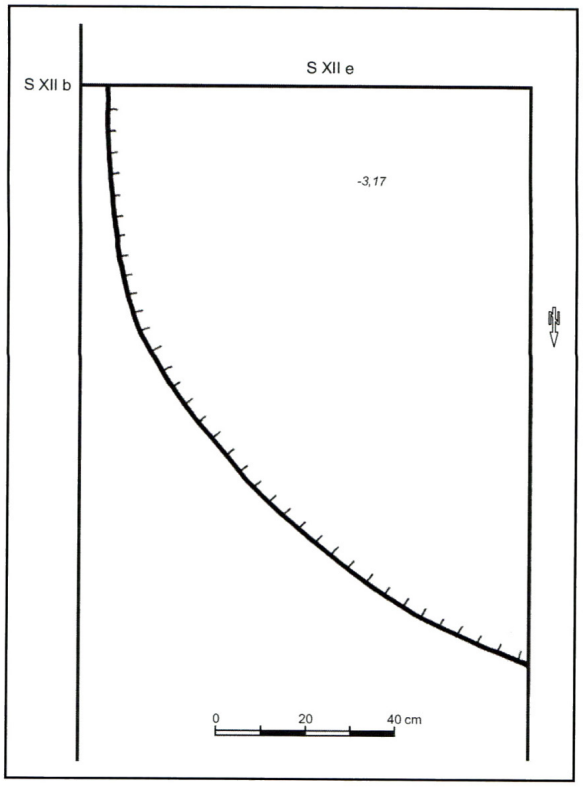

Abb. 18. Planum Schnitt XII-e.

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ist (Abb. 18), Ausgehend von der vermengten Erde, die man am vom Wasser zerstörten Ufer feststellt, beginnt diese Grube in einer Coțofeni-Ablagerung, in ihrer Verfüllung kommen einige Keramikfragmente dieser Zeitstellung vor. In Qu. a beobachtete man auch eine 35 cm tiefe Pfostengrube mit einem Dm. von 35 cm. Im Falle dieser Grube ist das Vorhandensein einer Wohngrube als Annex (?) nicht auszuschließen, wie im Falle der Grube 5 aus dem Schnitt VIII. Der Boden der Grube liegt bei –3,90 m, und sie vertieft sich ungefähr 1,20 m vom wahrscheinlichen Ausgrabungsniveau.

Schnitt XII-l

Er liegt östlich der Schnitte XII-a-k, entlang des Militärgrenzstreifens (Abb. 1) und mißt 36 x 3 m.

Der Schnitt war gedacht für die Freilegung noch weiterer äneolithischer Gräber, und die Ausgrabung begann bei –2,65 m nahe des südlichen Profils und bei –3,00 m in der nördlichen Hälfte, die vom Donauwasser überschwemmt wurde. In diesem Schnitt waren die Coțofenireste, insbesondere in der östlichen Hälfte und am westlichen Ende, nur am Südprofil und nur die Basis der Coțofeni-Schicht erhalten.

Und trotzdem konnten die Reste eines durch Brand zerstörten Coțofeni-Hauses mit einem Fußoden aus gelbem Ton festgestellt werden, und zwar an der Basis der Kulturschicht in Richtung der Quadrate 6-7 am Südprofil des Schnittes VII (siehe Abb. 1), das sich 4 Meter nördlicher vom Profil des Schnittes XII-l befand.

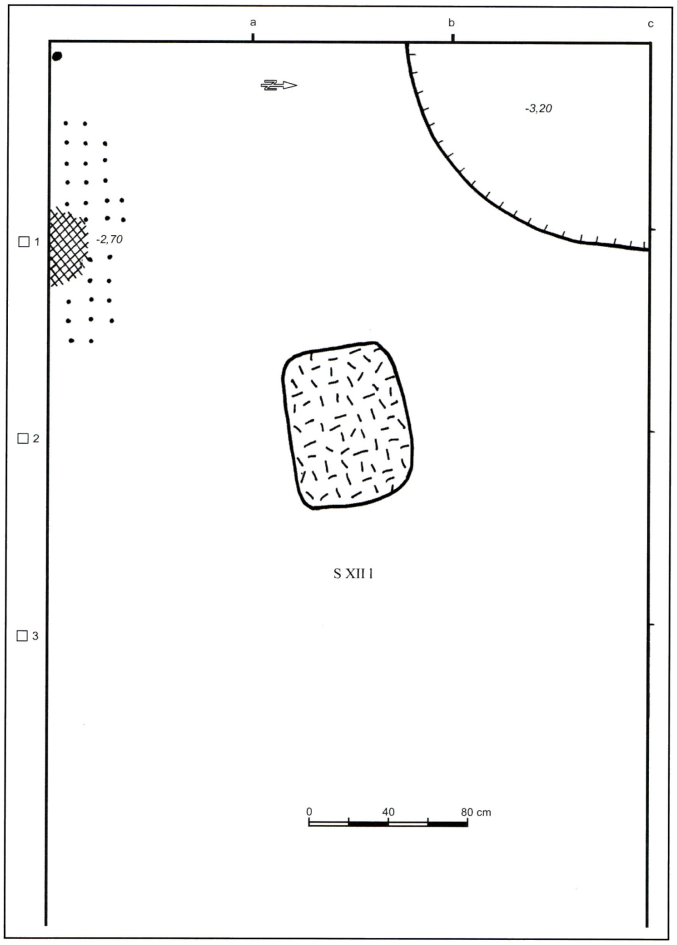

Abb. 19. Planum Schnitt XII-l. Komplexe aus den Quadraten 1–3.

In Schnitt XII-l liegen die Coțofeni-Komplexe, vom Nullpunkt aus gesehen, tiefer als diejenigen der Schnitte XII-a-k, ihre Basis ist am östlichen Ende (Abb. 38) etwa 70 cm tiefer (–3,25 m). Dies ist bedingt durch das Fehlen der Sălcuța-Schicht in Schnitt XII-l, da die alluviale fundleere Schicht unmittelbar über der Criş-Starčevo-Ablagerung folgt.

Die Reste von Bauten der Coțofeni-Kultur waren in drei Abschnitten des Schnittes XII-l erhalten, nämlich in den Quadraten 1-3, 8-10 und 11-12.

Am westlichen Ende des Schnittes war in seiner nördlichen Hälfte die Coțofenischicht völlig vom Wasser weggespült. Vereinzelte Reste eines ebenerdigen Hauses hatten sich im zentralen Teil und am Südprofil erhalten (Abb. 19). Sie bestanden aus Teilen verbrannter Erde bei –2,70 m am Südprofil und aus einer zerstörten, aber mit gut geglätteten Seiten bestehenden Feuerstelle mit dem Dm. von einem Meter, die über einer Schicht Asche aufgebaut war, und zwar an der Grenze zwischen den Quadraten 1 und 2. Auch an der Grenze zwischen den Quadraten 2 und 3 kamen Brocken verbrannter Erde zum Vorschein, die zusammen mit den anderen zuvor genannten Befunden scheinbar zeigen, daß es sich um ein Haus handelte, das eine Länge von ca. 6 Metern gehabt haben könnte. Die Grube eines Stützpfostens mit einem Dm. von 30 cm und einer Tiefe von einem Meter lag in der südöstlichen Ecke des Quadrates 1, wo sie das äneolithische Grab 43[23] zerstörte. Eine andere Pfostengrube mit einem Dm. von 30 cm, von der wir aber nicht wissen, ob sie mit den zuvor genannten Resten in Zusammenhang steht, befand sich an der Grenze zwischen den Quadraten 3 und 4, dem nördlichen Profil zu, und zerstörte die Beine des Skelettes in Grabes 48[24].

Das Haus aus den Quadraten 1-3 gehört zum ältesten Coțofeni-Niveau dieser Zone und könnte in Verbindung stehen und zeitgleich sein mit demjenigen, das in Schnitt XII-i und -k unmittelbar über Komplex L_1 liegt.

Wir wissen nicht, wieviele andere Konstruktionsniveaus in diesem Gebiet zerstört und vom Wasser weggespült worden waren. In der nordwestlichen Ecke des Quadrates 1 fand man eine sehr große Coțofenigrube (Abb. 19), das Niveau, vom dem aus sie eingetieft war, war zerstört und sie reichte bis in eine Tiefe von 3,20 m.

Den Boden einer Coțofenigrube legte man auch in der südwestlichen Ecke des Schnittes VI frei, und zwar über 5 Meter vom nördlichen Profil von Schnitt XII-l entfernt in Richtung Donau[25] (Abb. 1).

Eine Grube mit unregelmäßigem Umriß, die sich stufenartig nach Süden der Donau zu vertiefte, lag an der östlichen Grenze von Qu. 4 und in der westlichen

[23] Roman, Dodd-Oprițescu 1989, 18 und Abb. 4/Grab 43.

[24] Roman, Dodd-Oprițescu 1989, 21 und Abb. 5/Grab 48.

[25] Roman 1996, Abb. 16/b, d.

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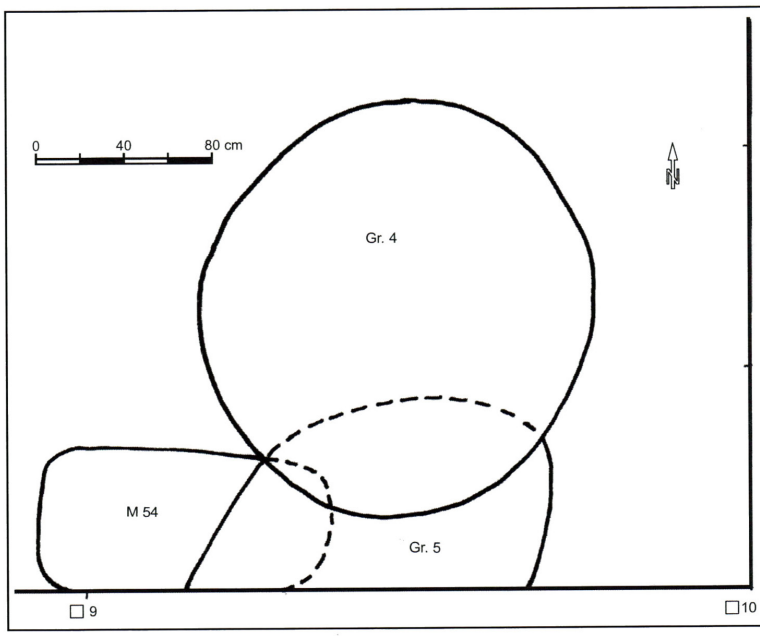

Abb. 20. Planum Schnitt XII-I. Die Gruben 4 und 5 sowie Grab 54 in Qu. 10.

Hälfte von Qu. 5. Sie zerstörte den Schädel in Grab 49[26], und sicher auch andere äneolithische Gräber[27], sie diente entweder der Tonentnahme für Bauten oder war eine Rinne in der das Wassers abfließen konnte.

An der Grenze zwischen den Quadraten 6-7 gab es eine andere Grube, das Niveau aus dem sie eingetieft war, war zerstört, und sie durchbrach die Coțofeni-Schicht, die hier nur 20 cm dick, uniform und indifferenziert war.

Dafür aber wird ab Qu. 7 die Schicht immer sichtbar dicker bis 70 cm am östlichen Ende des Quadrates, wo es auch bei –2,65 m, am Südprofil eine Feuerstelle gibt, unter der man auch zwei andere Laufniveaus feststellte[28].

Zwischen den Quadraten 8-Ost und 12 unterschied man 2 Zonen, in denen auf derselben Stelle mehrere aufeinanderfolgende Konstruktionen erschienen (einige in den Quadraten 8-10: Abb. 20-22 und einige andere in den Quadraten 11-12: Abb. 23-24), zwischen ihnen gab es eine Lücke von ca. 1,20 m Breite.

Die nördliche Seite der Konstruktionen wurde durch die Donau auf einer Breite von ca. 60-70 cm im Schnitt XII-I zerstört, und die südliche blieb im nicht ausgegrabenen Profil stecken. In den Quadraten 8-10 erschienen bei –2,65 m, unter einer sehr dünnen, uniformen und 20-25 cm dicken Ablagerung die Reste eines Fußbodens aus gelbem Ton und zum südlichen Profil hin mit einer Feuerstelle und Brandspuren in Qu. 8 (Abb. 21-22). Die Länge des Hauses beträgt auf der Ost-West-Achse 6,50 m, das südöstliche Ende ist von einer Grube mit einem Dm. von ca. 1,15 m durchschnitten (Abb. 22). Die erhaltene Breite des Hauses beträgt in Schnitt XII-I ca. 2,70 m (Abb. 22).

Auf einer Länge von 3,50 m erschien ungefähr 20 cm tiefer (–2,85 m) in den Quadraten 9-10 ein gelber Fußboden aus Lehm, bei dem man nicht ausschließen kann, daß er mit der ersten Phase der oben beschriebenen Baukonstruktion zusammenhängt (Abb. 21).

Bei –3,05 m und auf einer Länge von 2,40 m beobachtete man in einem Segment am östlichsten Teil des Quadrates 9 und im größten Teil von Qu. 10 einen bis rot verbrannten Fußboden (Abb. 21)

Etwa 15 cm tiefer (bei –3,20 m) gab es in den Quadraten 9-10, auf einer Längen von 2,86 m und einer Dicke von 5 cm einen anderen gelben Lehmfußboden mit verbrannten Segmenten in seinem westlichen Teil (Abb. 21).

Zuunterst, unter dieser Abfolge von Konstruktionen, entdeckten wir zwei Gruben, die sich schnitten (die etwas jüngere Grube 4 stört Grube 5, die einen Dm. von ca. 1,70 m hat) und beide zerstörten das äneolithische Grab 52 (Abb. 20-21). Die Grube 5 überdeckte und durchschnitt ihrerseits teilweise die Grube des äneolithischen Grabes 54, nachdem sie die alluviale Ablagerung durchbrochen und sich in die Criş-Starčevo-Schicht vertieft hatte.

In Richtung Oster von Schnitt XII-I, in den Quadraten 11-12, in Verlängerung des etwas jüngeren Hauses aus den Quadraten 9-10, fand man eine andere Konstruktion mit einem rechtwinkligen Lehmfußboden (Abb. 25), der zweimal erneuert wurde, wobei die Ost-West-Seite 3,25 m und die erhaltene Nord-Süd-Seite 2,40 m lang war. Der oberen Teil der Konstruktion liegt bei –2,60 m und die Basis bei –3,00 m.

20 cm höher ist dieses Haus von einer verbrannten Fläche bedeckt (Abb. 21).

Im östlichen und nördlichen Profil des Quadrates 12, bei einer Tiefe von –3,05 m fand man die Reste eines anderen Hauses, von dem Brocken verbrannter Erde stammen (Abb. 24). Das Haus reicht bis in die nördlichen und östlichen Profilen des Schnittes XII-I, Qu. 12. Im Schnitt wurden nur Segmente auf einer Länge von 1,40 m freigelegt.

An der Basis dieser Coțofeni-Kulturschicht (–3,25 m vom Nullpunkt), insbesondere in Qu. 12, stellte man eine Feuerstelle aus Lehm und Teile gelben Lehms fest. Brandspuren dieser Konstruktion entdeckte man auch in Qu. 11. Zu diesem ältesten Wohnniveau in dieser Zone gehört auch die bereits oben beschriebene Grube 5 (Abb. 20-21).

Die Wohnkomplexe in Schnitt I

Schnitt I wurde 1972 als stratigraphischer Kontrollschnitt an der höchsten und herausgehobensten Stelle der Siedlung angelegt, er hat die Maße 8 x 2 m. In den folgenden Jahren (1973-79) wurde er verbreitert (I-a und I-b 1973, I-c 1974; I-e 1975, I-e-West 1977) und verlängert (I-d 1975), indem die Schnitte direkt nebeneinander gelegt wurden, bis er schließlich auf der Nord-Süd-Achse eine Länge von 10,25 m und auf der Ost-West-Achse von 10,70 m bzw. 9,70 m hatte, seine Gesamtfläche betrug schließlich 101 m^2.

[26] Roman, Dodd-Oprițescu 1989, 21 und Abb. 5/Grab 49; Roman 1996, Abb. 27.

[27] Roman, Dodd-Oprițescu 1989, Abb. 1; Roman 1996, Abb. 27.

[28] Roman 1996, Abb. 17.

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Die Ausgrabungen wurden im Verlaufe von 8 Jahren durchgeführt (1972-1979) und erfolgten schrittweise in der Tiefe und in den ca. 4,40 m dicken Ablagerungen. Es gab eine Kulturabfolge mit Siedlungen und Gräbern, die von der epipaläolithischen Schela Cladovei-Kultur über Criş-Starčevo, Sălcuța, Coțofeni, Gârla Mare, der dakisch-römischen Periode bis zum frühen Mittelalter reicht[29] (Abb. 33). Die Coțofeni-Schicht ist maximal 1,20 m dick und liegt, vom Nullpunkt aus gesehen, in einer Tiefe zwischen –1,40 bis –2,60 m und unterscheidet sich sehr klar von der darunterliegen fundleeren, Lehmartigen Ablagerung und der darüberfolgenden gelblichen, mit kalkhaltigen Konkretionen und sehr wenigen Keramikfragmenten der Glina-Kultur.

Die ältesten Coțofeni-Konstruktionen bedeckten eine fundleere, alluviale Schicht, von der sie sich so klar abgrenzten, daß ich im Grabungstagebuch unter dem 6. August 1976 folgendes notierte: „Niemals hatte ich eine so klare Abgrenzung zwischen zwei Schichten". An einigen Stellen war das Gelände infolge der der Tonentnahme dienenden Vertiefungen uneben.

Die älteste Konstruktion (Niveau 1), ein Haus, entdeckte ich in der nördlichen Hälfte von Schnitt I-c, in den Quadraten 3-4 (Abb. 26). Die Reste bestanden aus einem Fußboden aus gelbem Lehm, auf der in Qu. 4 sich eine geglättete, ovale Feuerstelle, mit einem Dm. von 1,20 x 0,83 m befand, die vom Feuer sehr rot gebrannt war. Über diesem Fußboden und der Feuerstelle gab es Reste nichtverbrannter Wände aus gelbem Lehm (Abb. 26). Wir haben also ein Haus, das zerstört wurde und bei –2,57 m an der Basis der Coțofeni-Schicht lag. Leider wurden die Grenzen dieses Hauses durch die Ausgrabung nicht erfaßt, sie lagen im Nord- und Ostprofil des Schnittes. Südlich dieses Fußbodens bildete sich auf einer unebenen Fläche eine Ablagerung aus Asche und Holzkohle, die sich auch nach Westen hin ausbreitete, wo sie von den Überresten eines jüngeren Hauses überlagert wird.

Dieses zweites Bauniveau (Abb. 27) besteht aus einer 3 cm dicken verbrannten Lehmplattform, die auf der Oberseite ziegelrot und innen schwarz ist. Die zerstörten Segmente der Plattform waren mit gelbem Lehm verfüllt und sie wird auch von Pfostengruben durchschnitten, und über ihr dehnt sich eine Aschenschicht mit Holzkohlepigmenten, aber ohne Lehm aus. Der Befund spricht eher für eine Tonplatte, die gebrannt wurde, bevor die darüberliegende die Struktur gebaut wurde. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß es sich bei der Plattform um verbrannte Wände handelt, die auf die Lauffläche fielen, die kein richtiger Fußboden war. Die erhaltenen und freigelegten Reste dieses Hauses liegen in den Quadraten 1-3 von Schnitt I, I-a und I-e und reichen bis zu 5,00 m in Richtung Nord-Süd und 3,25 m in Richtung Ost-West (Abb. 27). Die nicht ausgegrabenen Reste liegen im Westprofil von Schnitt I-e. Pfosten- oder Pfahlgruben mit einem Dm.

[29] Roman 1987, 348 ff., Abb. 6-8; Roman 1996, 10 ff., 21 f., 51ff und Abb. 6; 10-12.

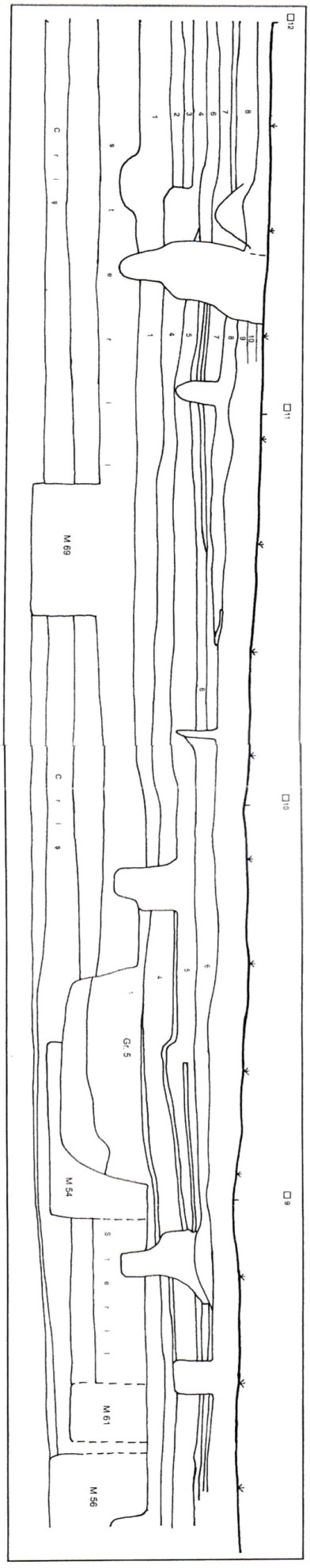

Abb. 21. Profil Schnitt XII-I, Quadrate 8–12.

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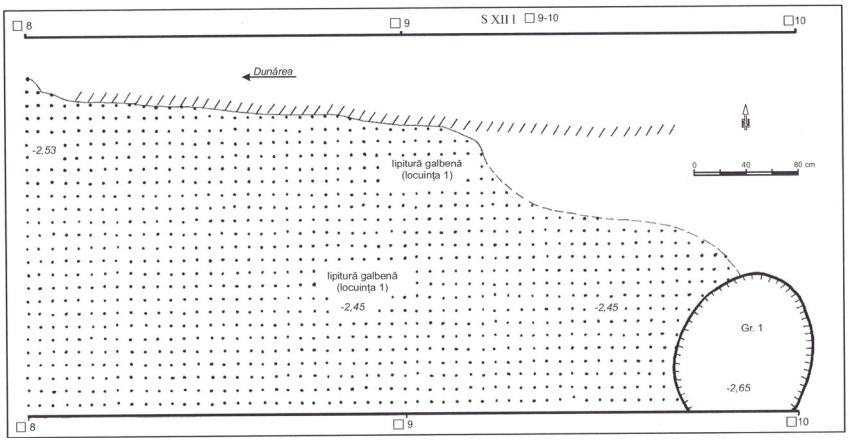

Abb. 22. Planum Schnitt XII-I, Quadrate 8-10. Konstruktionen aus dem oberen Niveau.

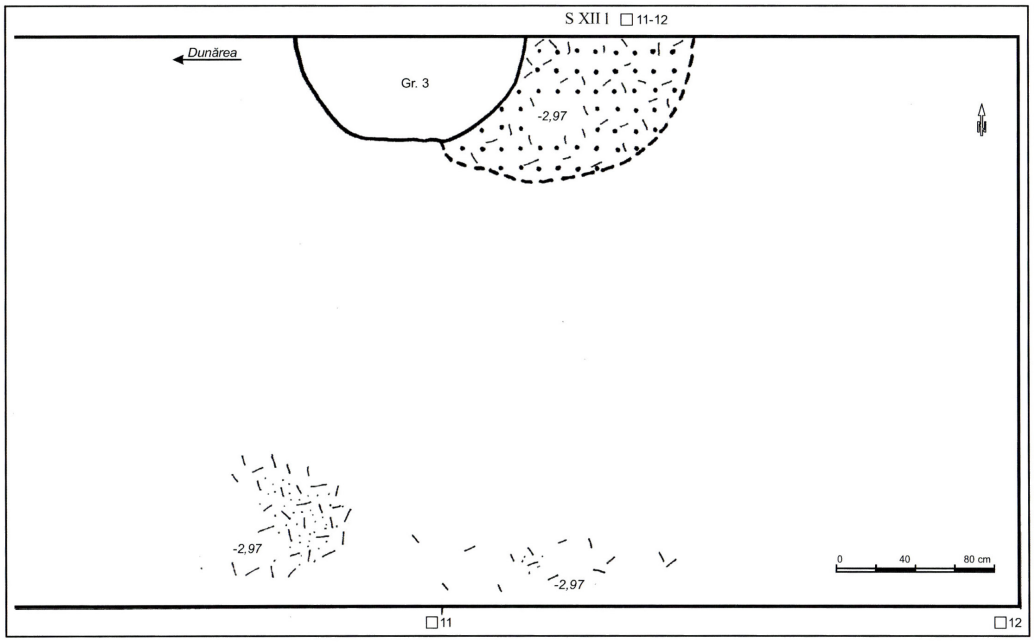

Abb. 23. Planum Schnitt XII-I, Quadrate 11-12. Konstruktionen von der Basis der Niveau: –2,97 –3,25 m.

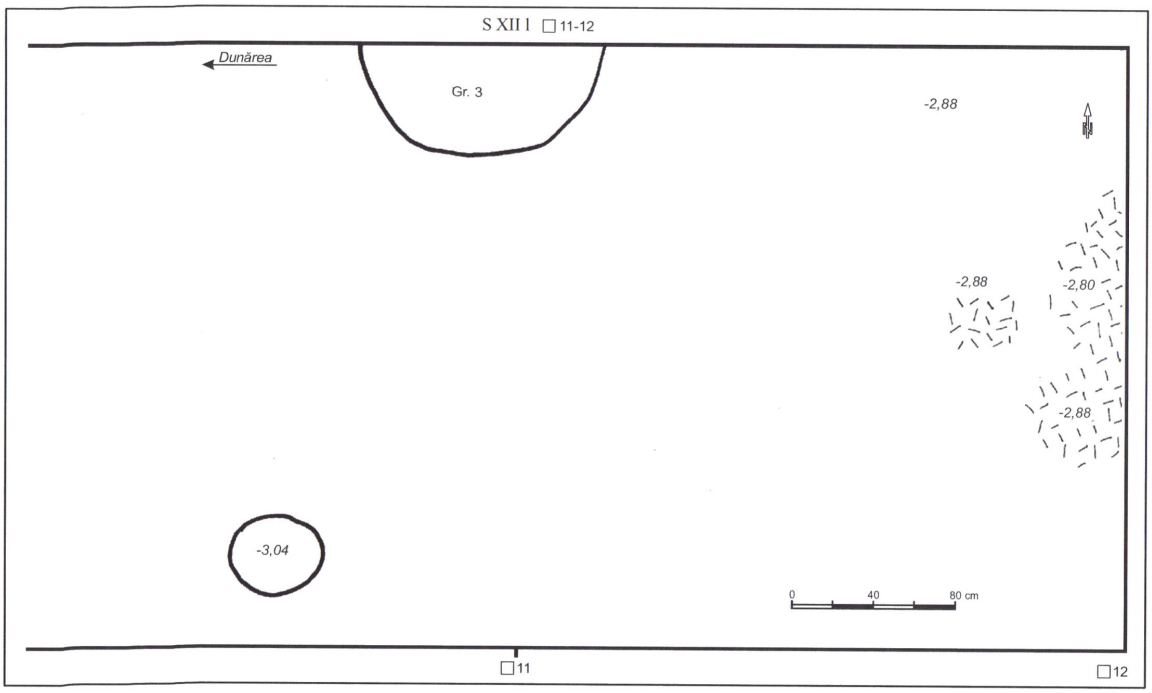

Abb. 24. Planum Schnitt XII-I, Quadrate 11-12. Konstruktion aus Niveau 2: –2,88.

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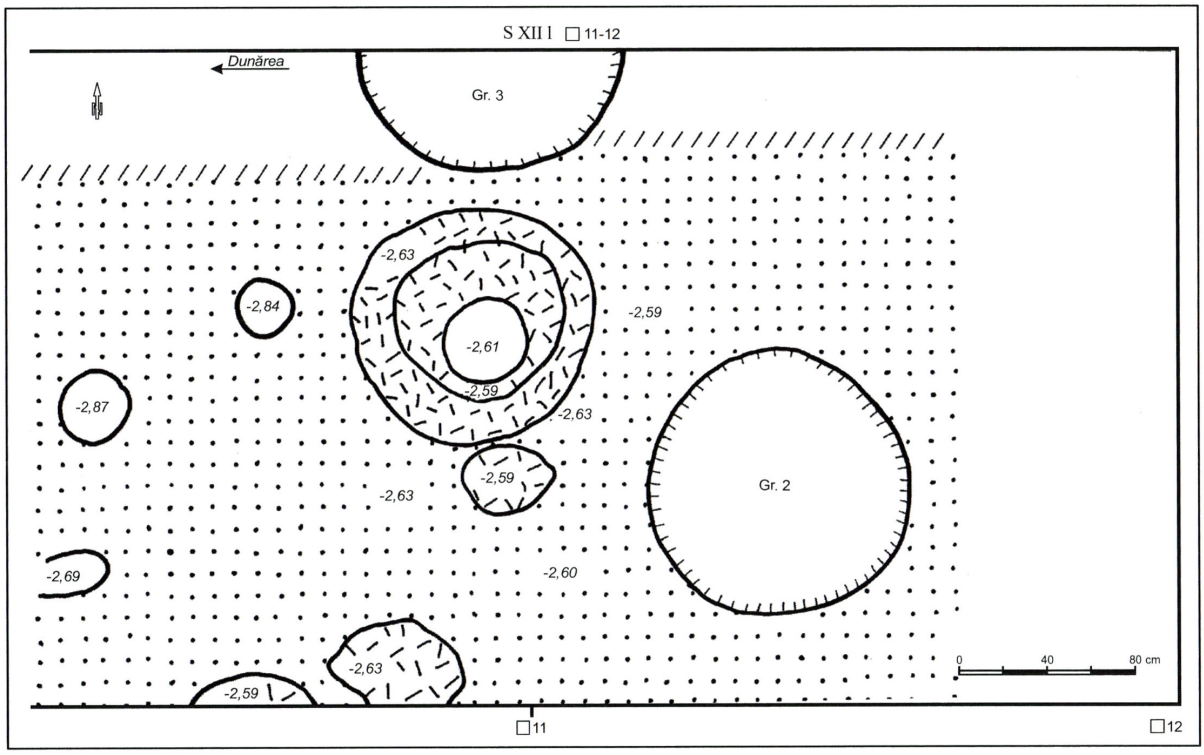

Abb. 25. Planum Schnitt XII-I, Quadrate 11-12. Konstruktionen an der Basis der Kulturschicht: –2,65 m

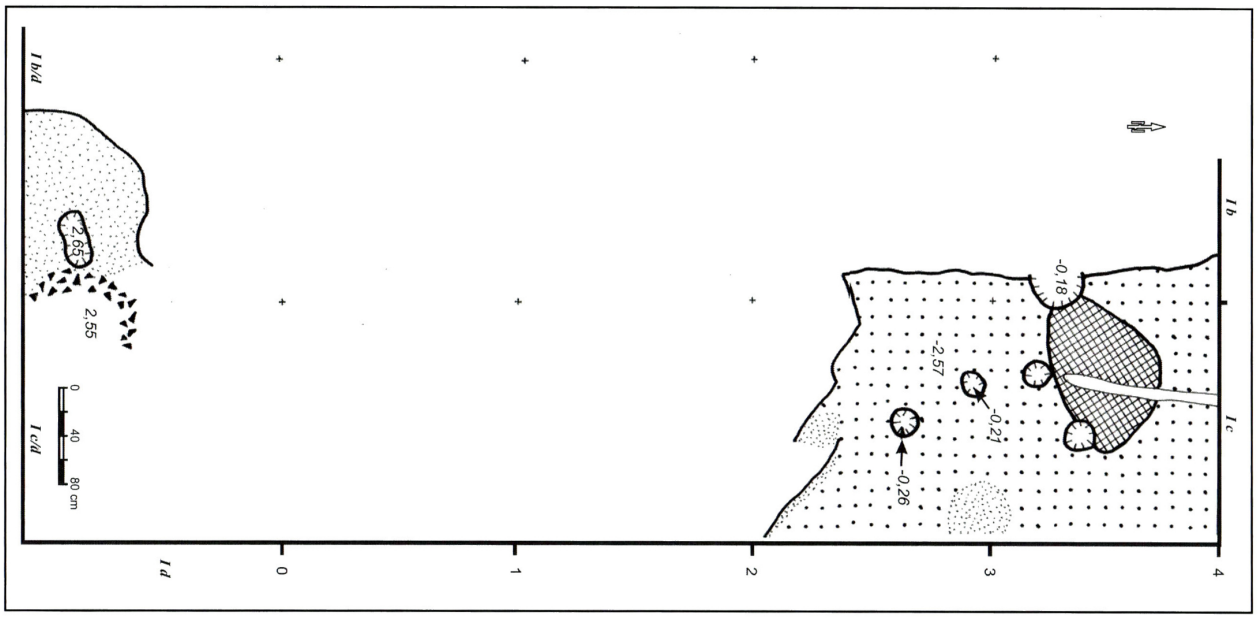

Abb. 26. Planum Schnitt I. Konstruktionen aus Niveau 1: –2,57 m.

zwischen 20-30 cm und einer Tiefe zwischen 20-57 cm (Abb. 27) sind sowohl seitlich als auch auf der Plattform selbst in Reihen angeordnet. In Zusammenhang mit diesem Haus schienen aber Spuren eines Brandes zu stehen, die in Qu. 4 bei einer Tiefe von –2,40 m zum Vorschein kamen, im Profil ist ebenfalls eine muldenartige Vertiefung (Grube 15) zu sehen, die bis in die Sălcuța-Schicht reicht. Verstreute Reste gab es auch in den südlichen Quadraten und wenigstens ein Teil der Schicht mit Asche und Stücke von Holzkohle waren in Schnitt I-b in einer Tiefe zwischen –2,30 bis –2,60 m auszumachen, insbesondere die verbrannten Lehmteile, die zwischen –2,51 bis –2,54 m zum Vorschein kamen und anscheinend von derselben Konstruktion stammen.

Sehr gut ist das dritte Konstruktionsniveau überliefert (Abb. 28). In der nördlichen Hälfte von Schnitt I-c, bei –2,28 m, findet man einen Fußboden aus bläulichem Lehm mit Ausbesserungen aus gelblichem Ton von einem nicht verbrannten Haus, das eine genau rechtwinklige Ecke aufweist, die ganz gut erhalten war. Entlang der Nord-Süd-Achse mißt die freigelegte Fläche dieses Fußbodens 2,90 m und in Richtung Ost-West 2,00 m. Falls die nord-südliche Seite die Schmalseite des Hauses ist, dann bedeutet dies, daß es die gleiche Orientierung wie Komplex L_1 in Schnitt XII hatte, d.h. OSO-WNW. An der Ecke dieser Plattform gibt es eine Pfostengrube mit dem Dm. von 30 cm und einer Tiefe von 22 cm. Sie spricht also für eine Konstruktion von einer nicht sehr großen

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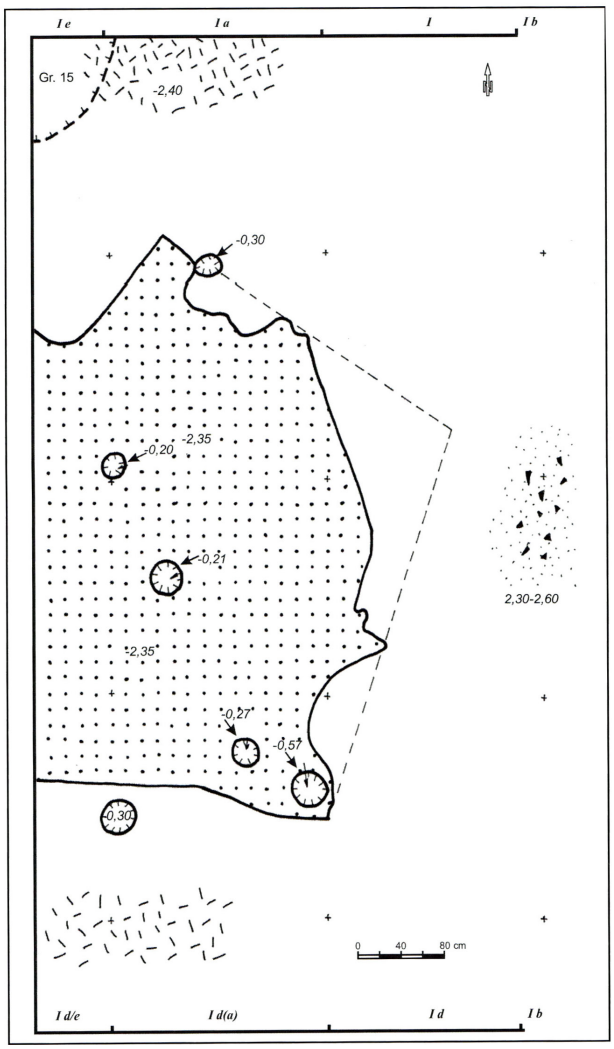

Abb. 27 Planum Schnitt I. Haus aus Niveau 2: –2,35 m.

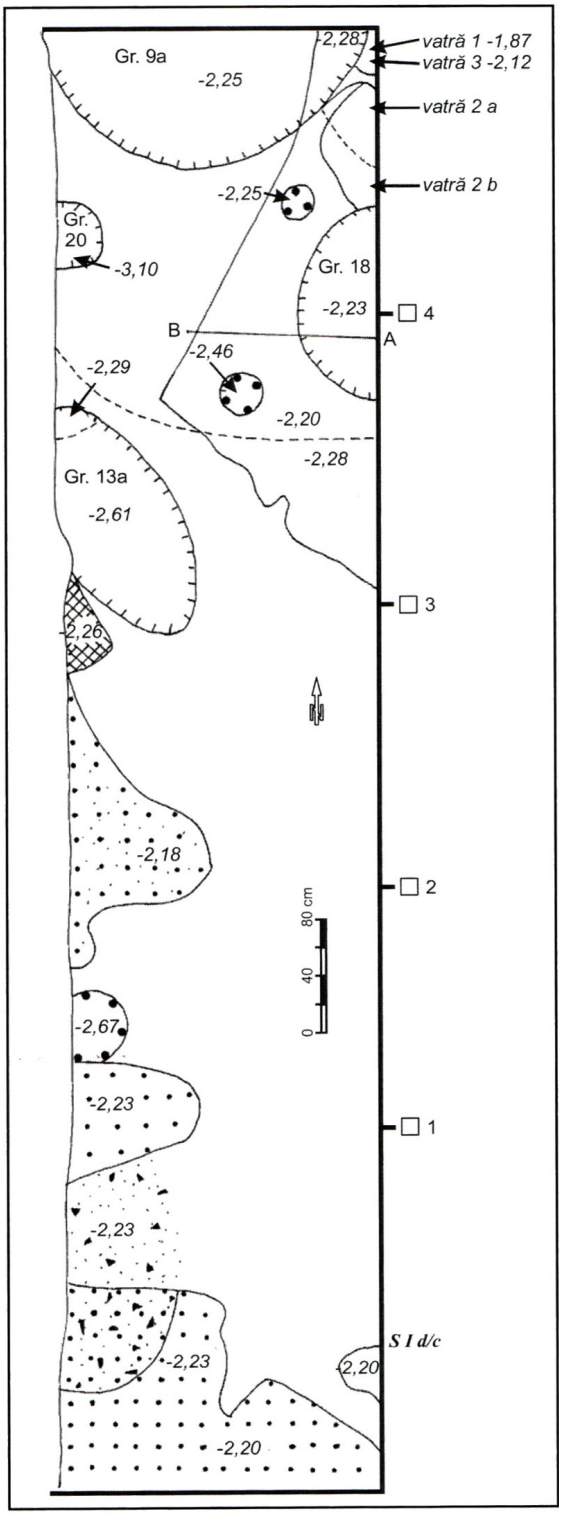

Abb. 28. Planum Schnitt Ic. Haus aus Niveau 3: –2,28 m.

Fläche (Abb. 28).

In der südlichen Hälfte von Schnitt I-c und I-d/e erscheinen auf einer Länge von 6 Meter (Abb. 28) Reste eines Fußbodens, einer bis rot gebrannten Feuerstelle, gelber Erde, die von zusammengefallenen Wänden stammt, die alle in der gleichen Tiefe oder fast so tief wie die zuvor genannten Häuser liegen, und zwar kamen die Wandstücke und die Teile vom Fußboden bei –2,20 bis –2,23 m und die Feuerstelle bei –2,26 m zum Vorschein. In der Mitte gibt es eine Pfostengrube mit einem Dm. von 48 cm und einer Tiefe von 44 cm. Am südlichen Profil von Schnitt I[30] sind Reste dieses Hauses zu erkennen bis zur Grenze von Schnitt I-d/b, wo sie von der Grube 12 durchschnitten werden, sie sind also auf einer Breite von über 2 Meter erhalten.

In der gleichen Tiefe von –2,20 m treffen wir auch am Westprofil der Schnitte I und I-e Reste einer Konstruktion an.

Ein neues Konstruktionsniveau (das 4. von unten nach oben) ist durch übereinanderliegende oder wiedererneuerte Häuser ersichtlich, die sich im nördlichen Teil der Schnitte I-c, I-b und I befinden (Abb. 30). Sie bedecken die vorhergehenden Konstruktionen der Niveaus 1 und 3. Abgesehen davon, daß man nur teilweise eine Fläche dieser Komplexe freilegen konnte, wurden ihre Reste auf sehr großen Flächen leider von mehreren bronzezeitlichen und dakisch-römischen Gruben durchschnitten. In der Tiefe zwischen –1,87 m und –2,13 m fand man drei aufeinanderfolgende, neue oder wiedererneuerte Fußöden aus Ton, denen in der nordöstlichen Ecke von Schnitt I-c mehrere Herdstellen entsprechen (Abb. 30)[31]. Leider liegt zwischen den Fußböden und den Herdstellen die sehr große dakisch-römische Grube 9a (Dm. 2,40 m am Profil). Die Herdstellen scheinen aus mehreren Lagen

[30] Roman 1987, Abb. 7; Roman 1996, Abb. 11.

[31] Siehe Profil bei Roman 1987, Abb. 8; Roman 1996, Abb. 12.

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Lehm geformt zu sein, die so stark gebrannt wurden bis sie rot waren. Handelt es sich hier um Erneuerungen? Um eine spezielle Konstruktion, um die Wärme zu speichern, ohne einem „Bett" aus Keramikfragmenten? Um voneinander unabhängige Feuerstellen? Bilden sie ein einziges Konstruktionsniveau oder sind es zwei (4 und 5)?

Südlich und westlich dieser Komplexe treffen wir in unterschiedlicher Tiefe auf Reste von Häusern. Zum 4. Niveau gehört der Rest eines Fußbodens aus Schnitt I, in den Quadraten 1-2, der bei –2,00 erschien. In der gleichen Tiefe fanden wir in den Quadraten 1-2 von Schnitt I-a auf einer Fläche von 1,80 x 0,80 m Reste gelben Lehms mit bis rot gebrannter Erde im zentralen Teil (Abb. 29).

Etwas höher (Niveau 5?) gibt es bei –1,90 m, am westlichen Profil von Schnitt I-e, in den Quadraten 1-3, Reste von Feuerstellen, Lehm und Asche eines neuen Hauses (Abb. 30). Die Reste verbrannten Lehms sind von Grube 12 durchschnitten (Abb. 32), sie erschienen im südlichen Teil von Schnitt I-b, in den Quadraten 1-2, in einer Tiefe von –1,95 m. Vielleicht sind sie zeitgleich mit einem des zuvor erwähnten Haus (oder ihrer Erneuerungen).

Ein neues, sicheres Konstruktionsniveau (das 6.?) befindet sich zwischen –1,70 m und bis –1,80 m. Also auf der nördlichen Seite der Fläche, auf ca. 4 Meter Länge vom Profil aus gesehen[32] gibt es Reste eines Hauses in Form eines Bandes aus gelbem Lehm (Fußboden), das in Schnitt I-b bis 10 cm dick ist.

In Qu. 3 von Schnitt I-a entdeckte ich, bei –1,70 bis –1,80 m, eine rechteckige, auf einem „Bett" aus Keramikfragmenten gebaute Herdstelle aus Lehm mit seitlichem Rand. Ringsherum erschienen in den Quadraten 2-3 Reste gelben Lehm (Abb. 31). Ob sie in Zusammenhang stehen mit dem Haus aus dem nördlichen Teil der Fläche, können wir nicht sagen.

Eine muldenartige Herdstelle, die die Verfüllung von Grube 10 b überdeckt, erschien bei –1,75 m in Schnitt I-d/I-a. In Qu. 1 von Schnitt I, ebenfalls bei –1,75 m (Abb. 31), gab es Reste gelber Erde mit einem Brandflecken.

In den Schnitten I und I-b erscheint am nördlichen Profil[33], zwischen –1,40 bis –1,60 m und auf einer Länge von 2 Metern eine gelbe Erdschicht, wahrscheinlich der Rest einer umgefallenen Wand entweder eines neuen Konstruktionsniveaus oder von den vorigen Bauten. Für die Existenz eines anderen Niveaus scheint aber das Vorhandensein einer sehr dünnen Lehmschicht – in Schnitt I-d/I und I-d/I-b über Grube 12[34], zu sprechen, die in der Mitte muldenartig (und sich bis –1,69 m vertieft) und wahrscheinlich der Fußboden eines Hauses ist. Damit sind genügend Daten vorhanden, die uns erlauben von einem neuen Bauniveau in den Schnitten I (dem 7., dem 8.?) zu sprechen. Aus den bisherigen Ausführungen ist zu entnehmen, daß, mit Ausnahme von Niveau 2, das Ende der in Schnitt I errichteten Häuser darauf

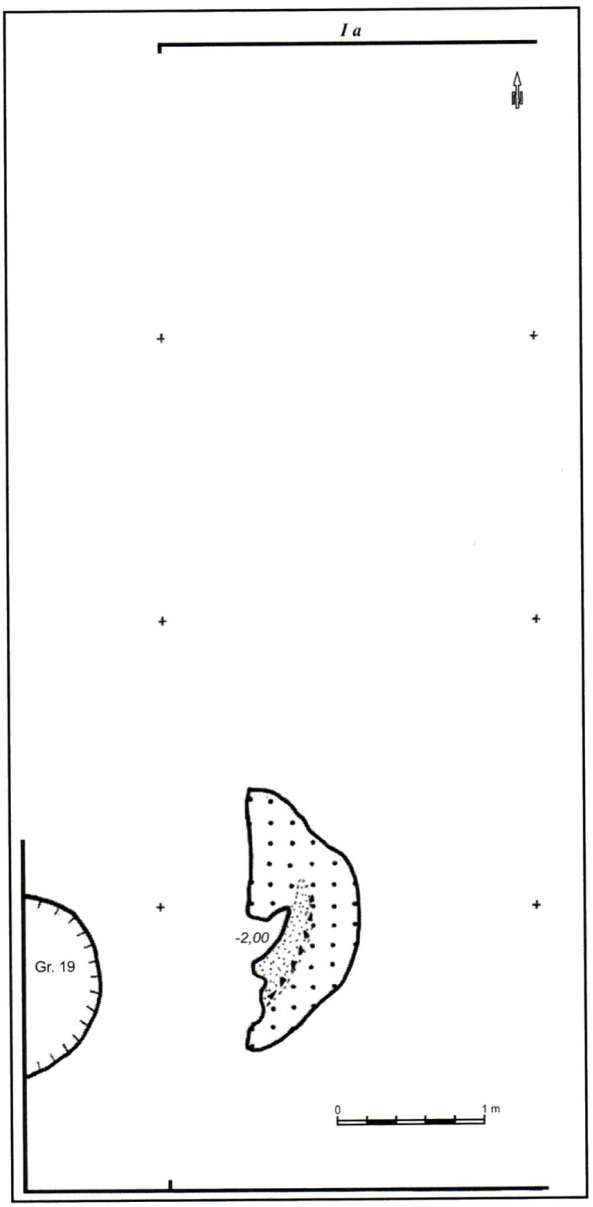

Abb. 29. Planum Schnitt I a, e. Fußbodenreste und Brandspuren: –2,00 m.

zurückzuführen ist, daß sie verfielen und nicht abbrannten.

Außer den Pfostengruben und Gruben für Stützpfosten (die Gruben 4-6, 20) oder Tonentnahmegruben (die Gruben 10, 15), machen wir auf die großen, runden oder ovalen Gruben aufmerksam, die in verschiedenen Niveaus freigelegt wurden und bis in die tiefsten und ältesten coțofeni-zeitlichen oder noch älteren Niveaus reichen (Abb. 32). Einige waren wahrscheinlich Abfallgruben, andere Vorratsgruben, oder Tonentnahmegruben.

Eine Abfolge von Gruben am Profil[35] zeigt, daß es sich eigentlich um muldenartige Verfüllungen handelt, sie bekamen die Nr. 10 (Abb. 32). An der Basis, die bei –2,90 m liegt, erscheint die unregelmäßige Kontur einer Grube (Tonentnahmegrube?), die 40 cm unter die Coțofenischicht reicht und deren Achse über 2 Meter lang ist. Sie trägt die Bezeichnung "Grube 10-Basis", und bei –2,80 m Grube 10a. Sie wird 50 cm höher von einer anderen Grube (10b) überlagert,

[32] Roman 1996.

[33] Roman 1996.

[34] Roman 1987, Abb. 7; Roman 1996, Abb. 11.

[35] Roman 1996.

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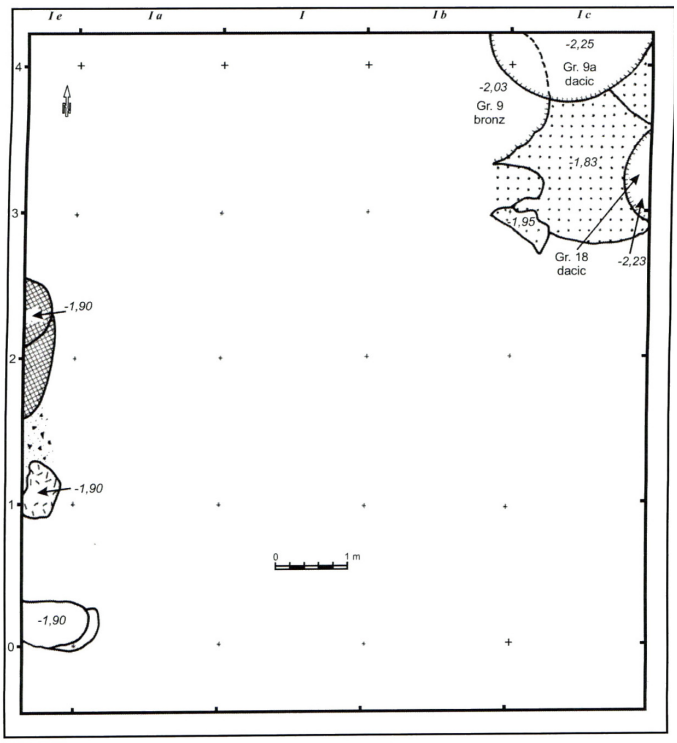

Abb. 30. Planum Schnitt I. Konstruktionen: –1,90 m. Mit Schnitten durch die Fußböden und Feuerstellen.

der bronzezeitlichen Schicht erschien eine neue Vertiefung, die die Bezeichnung Grube 10 (Abb. 32) bekam.

In einem früheren Coțofeniabschnitt gibt es auch eine Vertiefung, die sowohl in die Alluvial- als auch in die Sălcuțaschicht reicht und wahrscheinlich der Tonentnahme diente. Sie erhielt in den Schnitten I-a und I-e, Qu. 4, die Bezeichnung Grube 15.

Die Gruben 14 (Schnitt I-e, Qu. 3, siehe Abb. 33) und 21 (Schnitt I-d/-c)[36] gehören zu einigen mittleren Niveaus.

In den oberen Niveaus wurden die Gruben 12, 13A und 19 freigelegt.

Grube 12, die einen Teil der Verfüllungen der Gruben 10b, 10a[37] schneidet, wurde von der Basis des vorletzten Coțofeni-Niveaus aus eingetieft, reicht bis zu –2,20 m tief in die Coțofenischicht, hat einen Dm. von ca. 2 Meter (Abb. 32) und enthält viel Keramik, darunter auch nach dem Brand weiß bemalte Keramik wie sie aus Basarabi bekannt ist[38]. Es gab auch sehr viel Keramik mit rotem Überzug und eine Metallahle mit zwei sehr spitzen Enden. In der Verfüllung der Grube gab es auch viel Asche, Holzkohle und verbrannte Erdstücke, aus ihr entnahm man Holzkohleproben für die ^{14}C-Analyse,

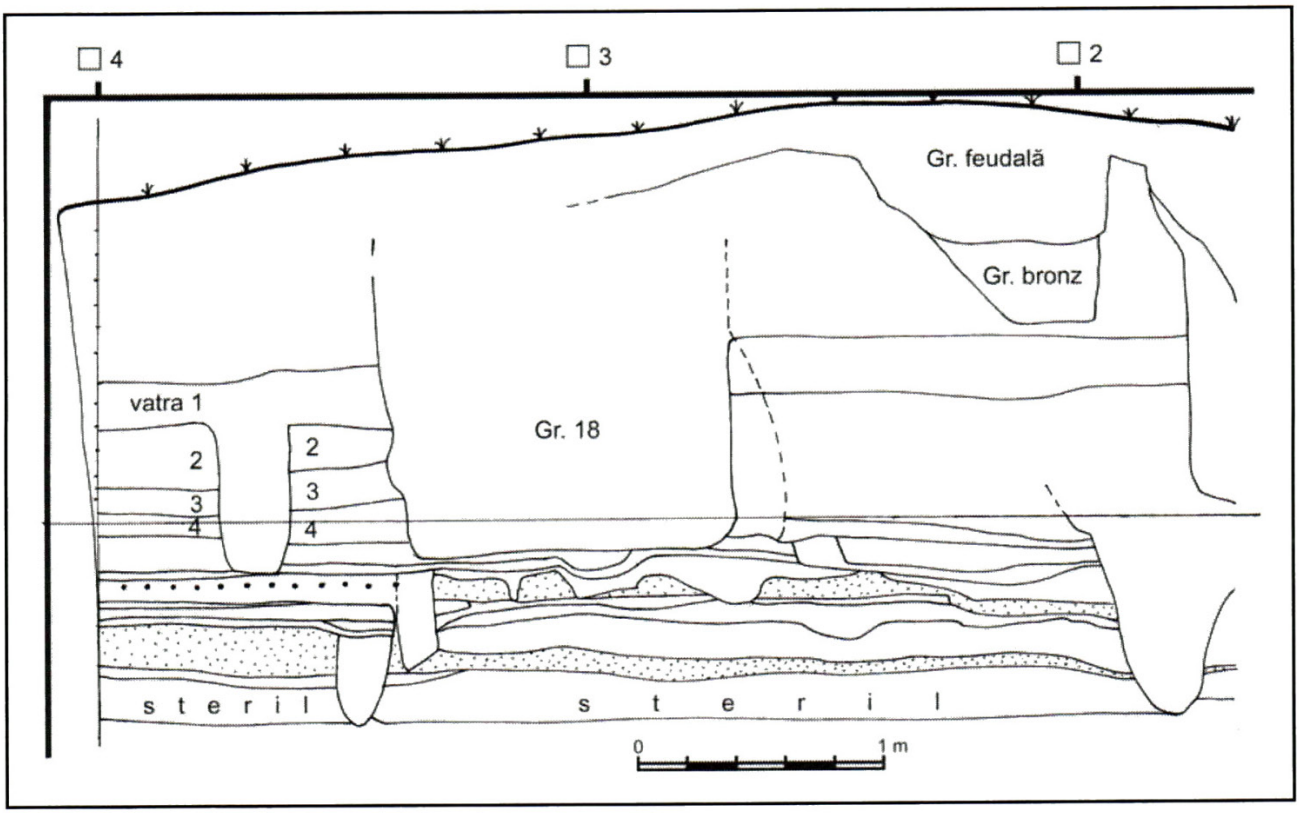

Abb. 30 A. Ostprofil S. I c, Qu. 2-4. Coțofeni-Schicht.

die einen Dm. von 1,40 m hat. Über der Fläche dieser letzte Mulde scheint eine bogenförmige Vertiefung vorhanden gewesen zu sein, die ca. 2,70 m lang ist, und in der in aufeinanderfolgenden Ablagerungen die Reste von einigen in der Nähe befindlichen Häuser abgelagert wurden. Diese Stelle wird auch für eine muldenartige Herdstelle genutzt, die bei –1,75 m in Schnitt I-d/I-a zum Vorschein kam und zum 6. Coțofeni-Bauniveau gehört. Über ihr, an der Basis die im Yolla-Labor der Universität Kalifornien durchgeführt wurde[39]. Die Verfüllung der Grube 12 scheint entweder aus den durchschnittenen Niveaus zu

[36] Roman 1996.

[37] Roman 1996.

[38] Roman 1976, 29 und Abb. 48/15, 22, 49/1-11.

[39] LJ 3798 und LJ 3799 = 4420±50 B.P. und 4400±60B.P., kalibriert 3250±100, 250; siehe Roman, Németi 1978, 71 f., 156.

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stammen (unter ihr befindet sich auch eine ältere Vertiefung), oder aus der Zeit, in der sie in Benutzung war.

Die dakisch-römische Grube 13 zerstört Grube 13A aus Schnitt I-c, Quadrate 2-3 (Abb. 28; 32). Die zuletzt genannte ist oval, hat einen Dm. von 1,80 x 0,90 m und reicht von –2,09 (wo sie erkannt wurde) bis –2,61 m, der Basis der Coțofenischicht. Sie und die Grube 20, eine Grube für einen Stützpfosten (Abb. 28), mit dem Dm. von 45 cm, der Tiefe von einem Meter, scheinen beide mit den aufeinanderfolgenden Häusern der Bauniveaus 4-5 zusammenhängen.

In Schnitt I-d/e hat die Grube 19 (Abb. 29; 33)[40], die bei –2,00 m (Niveau 4) freigelegt wurde, einen Dm. von 1,65 m und vertieft sich 75 cm bis in den oberen Teil in die Sălcuța a Schicht.

Schnitt XV

Er befindet sich nur 15 m weiter südlich des östlichen Endes von Schnitt XII-I (Abb. 1), wo die Coțofenischicht – z.T. abgeschwemmt – eine Dicke von 1,00-1,05 m aufweist und 37 m ostsüdöstlich von Schnitt I, wo die Coțofenischicht – die völlig erhalten blieb – 1,00 bis 1,20 m mächtig ist. Aber in Schnitt XV ist die Coțofenischicht unerwartet arm an Funden und nur 25-40 cm dick. Die Coțofeniablagerung liegt zwischen zwei dünnen Niveaus mit sehr seltenen Funden, von denen das untere sie von der Criş-Starčevoschicht und das obere von der Schicht der bronzezeitlichen Epoche abtrennt.

Am Nordprofil der Fläche kann man feststellen, daß es sich um Reste von Fußböden einiger Häuser handelt, und im Inneren dieses Schnittes gibt es kleinere Gruben und eine große Grube (Abb. 34), die 2,80 m lang und am Profil ca. 80 cm tief ist[41].

Die festgestellte Situation in Schnitt XV (der die Maße 7 x 7 m hat) zeigt klar, daß die größte Dichte der Coțofeni-Häuser entlang des Donauufers und auf der am höchsten gelegenen Fläche lag. Auch ihre Ausrichtung scheint sogar in allen Fällen parallel zur Donau erfolgt zu sein, d.h. ost-westlich.

Abschließend ist festzustellen, daß die meisten Coțofeni-Bauten nachträglich durch die auf die Donau zurückführende Erosion des Ufers zerstört wurden, die vor allem nach dem ersten Weltkrieg sehr stark war.

Schnitte XVI

Sie bestehen aus vier Segmenten, die zusammen 235 m^2 groß sind[42]: XVI (48 x 2 m), XVI-a (28 x 2 m), XVI-b (28 x 2 m) und XVI-c (9 x 3 m).

In allen diesen Segmenten wurde nur bis zum oberen Teil der Coțofenischicht ausgegraben, sie

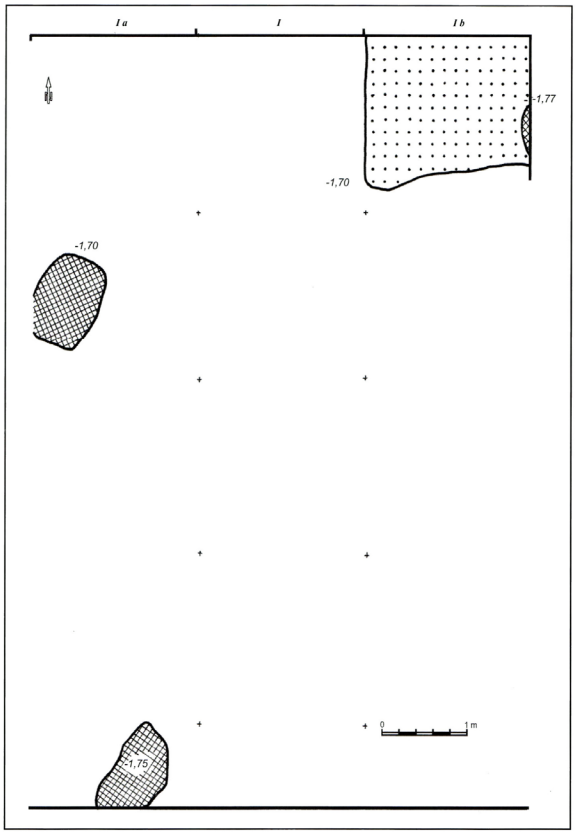

Abb. 31. Planum Schnitt I. Häuser: –1,70 m. Mit rechtwinkeliger Feuerstelle.

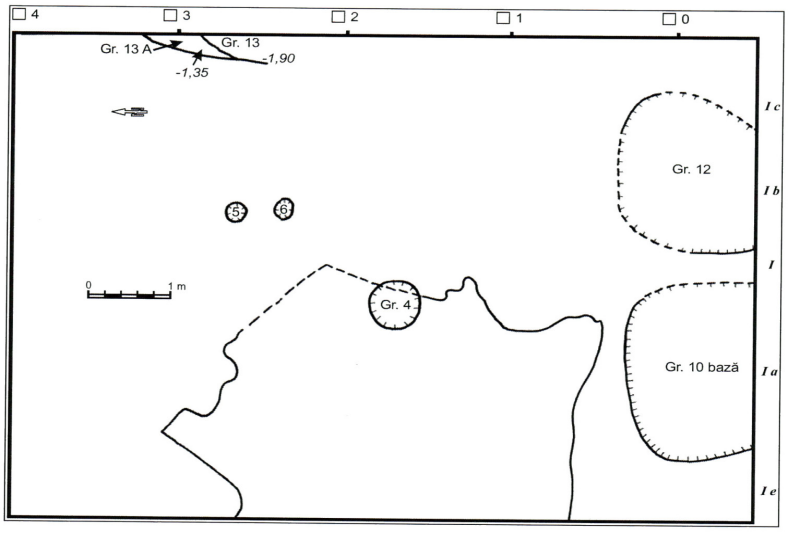

Abb. 32. Planum Schnitt I. Die Coțofeni-Gruben.

waren gedacht für die Untersuchung der auf Coțofeni folgenden Schichten. Dies war bedingt durch die zur Verfügung stehende Zeit und die vorhandenen finanziellen Mittel. Wir verfügen daher hinsichtlich der Coțofenibesiedlung nur über Daten bezüglich der Tiefe, ab der sie erschienen. In einigen Fällen – dort, wo sich jüngere Gruben vertieften oder die Coțofenischicht durchbrachen – kennen wir die Dicke der Kulturschicht und die Lage der Wohnflächen (Abb. 35). In den Quadraten 1-8 von Schnitt XVI, in dem sich das Gelände von West nach Ost absenkt, liegt der obere Teil der Coțofenischicht viel tiefer (–2,30 m in den Quadraten 1-3, –2,15 bis –2,20 m in den Quadraten 5-6, –2,00 m in den Quadraten 7-8). In den Quadraten 11-13 liegen die Coțofenireste schon unter

[40] Roman 1987, Abb. 6; Roman 1996, Abb. 10.

[41] Roman 1987, Abb. 9c; Roman 1996, Abb. 14.

[42] Roman 1987, 354; Roman 1996, 23, 54-die Zahl 211 ist falsch, korrekt ist 235.

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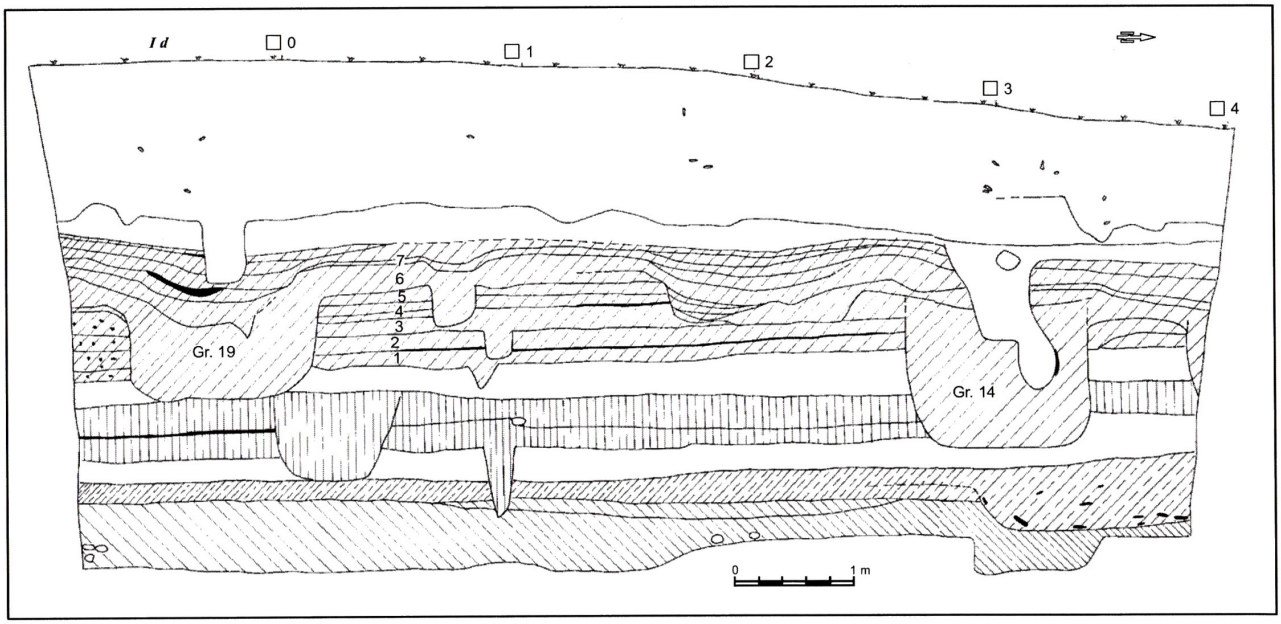

Abb. 33. Gesamtes Westprofil des Schnittes I-e.

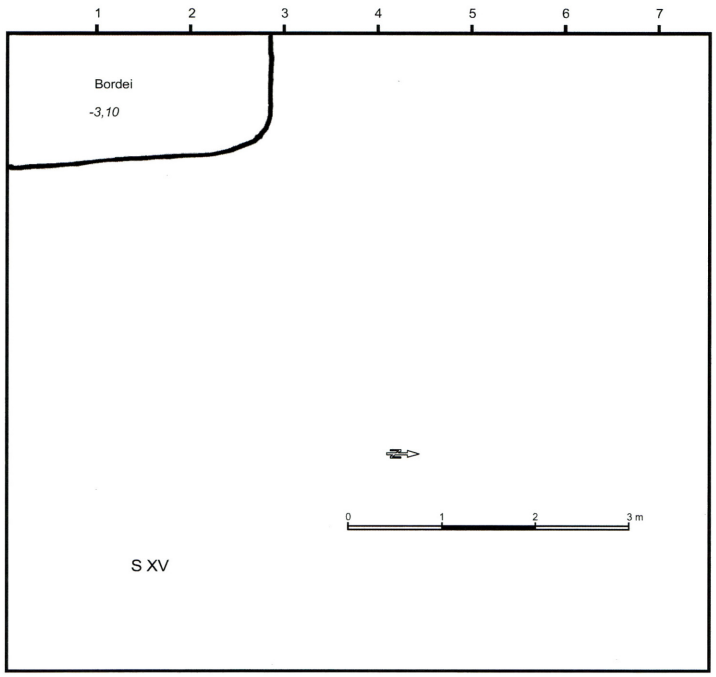

Abb. 34. Planum Schnitt XV. Planum der Grube des Grubenhauses.

–1,50 m (–1,53 bis –1,60/1,65 m).

Es ist auch noch anzuführen, daß es in Qu. 13, bei –1,68 m eine Feuerstelle gab und in Qu. 12 wurden bei –1,78 m Brandspuren entdeckt. In Qu. 17 stellte man bei –1,45 m die Basis eines Niveaus aus gelbem, fest gestampften Ton und Brandspuren fest (Abb. 35). In den Quadraten 18-20 befinden wir uns schon bei –1,40 m in der Coțofenischicht, da im Qu. 18 in Schnitt XVI-b, bei –1,35 m nur Coțofenireste vorhanden waren, aber in den Quadraten 18-19 ist bei –1,29 m das Material fast ausschließlich **c**oțofenizeitlich.

In den Quadraten 20-24 sind bei –1,24 m die Coțofeni-Materialien mit solchen der Glinazeit vermengt. Unterhalb von –1,29 m ist das Material coțofenizeitlich, und in Qu. 22 kommen unterhalb –1,30 bis –1,40 m ausschließlich Coțofenireste vor.

In Schnitt XVI-c liegt der obere Teil der Coțofenischicht unter –1,50 m.

Die Stärke der Coțofeniablagerungen und die Aufteilung in Wohnbereiche konnte anhand der Profile einiger Gruben festgestellt werden. So gehört die Grube 18 in den Quadraten 7-8 (Abb. 35) zur Gârla Mare-Kultur und vertieft sich ca. einen Meter in die Coțofeniablagerungen; Grube 13, auch zur Gârla Mare-Kultur gehörend, aus den Quadraten 12-13, in Schnitt XVI-b durchschlägt die Coțofenischicht auf einer Dicke von 1 m[43], die aus Resten übereinanderliegender Häuser besteht. In den gleichen Quadraten 12-13 vertiefen sich die Gruben 22-22a und 26 (Abb. 35)[44] in die Coțofenischicht und durchschneiden den Bereich der Häuser.

In die Coțofenischicht ist auch die Grube 6 (Schnitt XVI, Quadrate 15-16) vertieft, die zur Bronzezeit gehört (Abb. 35). Das gleiche kann auch für die Gruben 9 und 9a in den Quadraten 20-21 gesagt werden.

In den Quadraten 23-24 von Schnitt XVI-a, -b vertiefte sich die dakisch-römische Grube 6b (Abb. 35)[45] in die Coțofenischicht, die humusreich ist, und in ihrem oberen Teil fehlen Konstruktionen. Dafür kann man im unteren Teil gelben Lehm und verbrannten Lehm beobachten, die von zwei Häusern stammen. Der Boden von Grube 6b entspricht der Basis eines Coțofeni-Fußbodens.

Es gibt also genügend Indizien, die uns zeigen, daß dieser Bereich, zumindest in den Quadraten 7-24, intensiv von der Coțofeni-Gemeinschaft besiedelt war.

Ein sehr interessanter und wichtiger Coțofeni-Komplex wurde größtenteils neben dem Nordprofil von Schnitt XVI-b, an der Grenze zwischen den Quadraten 16-17 freigelegt (Abb. 35). Es handelt sich entweder um einen „Metallschmelzofen" oder die

[43] Roman u.a. 1992, 104 und Abb. 1/1, 3/1.

[44] Roman 1992, 104 und Abb. 2/1-2, 3/5.

[45] Roman 1992, Abb. 2/3.

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Herdstelle eines Metallurgisten (Abb. 36)[46].

Eine Grube mit etwas jüngeren Ablagerungen, die auch die Glina-Schicht durchschnitt, hat eigentlich den oberen Teil der vermutlichen Kuppel des "Ofens" komplett zerstört. Diese Konstruktion war folgendermaßen aufgebaut: In einer Schicht Asche wurde der Umriß in Form eines Hufeisens eingetieft, es wurden seitlich als Art Platten Keramikfragmente aufgestellt. Horizontal über dieser Asche legte man zuerst eine Schicht Holzkohle und dann folgten als eine Art Pflaster die Fragmente zweier großer Coțofenigefäße. Darüber kamen aufeinanderfolgend drei ganz dünne Lagen Lehm, wobei jede einzelne Lage separat gebrannt wurde, und so wurde die Feuerstelle gebaut. Bei der westlichen seitlichen Wand gibt es über den Keramikfragmenten eine gebrannte Lehmschicht, auf der eine Schicht Schlacke liegt und dann folgen wieder drei Lagen, die ebenso nacheinander gebrannt wurden. Die östliche Wand hat Lagen, die aber dünner sind und ohne diese Schicht Schlacke. Auch im Inneren fand man Stücke Schlacke. Dieser Metallschmelzofen bzw. diese Herdstelle war nord-südlich orientiert, die Öffnung lag dem Norden zu, die Breite betrug 78 cm, die Tiefe 77 cm, die Höhe konnte aber nicht mehr als 90 cm sein. Das Arbeitsniveau zeichnete sich klar dem Westen zu ab.

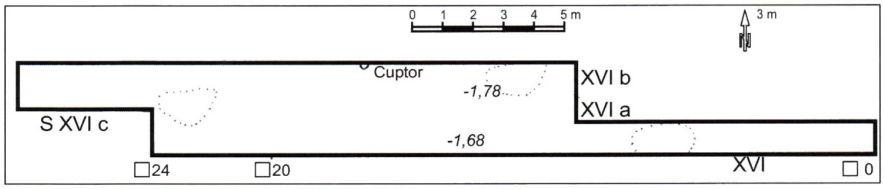

Abb. 35. Planum Schnitt XVI. Coțofeni-Siedlungsgebiet.

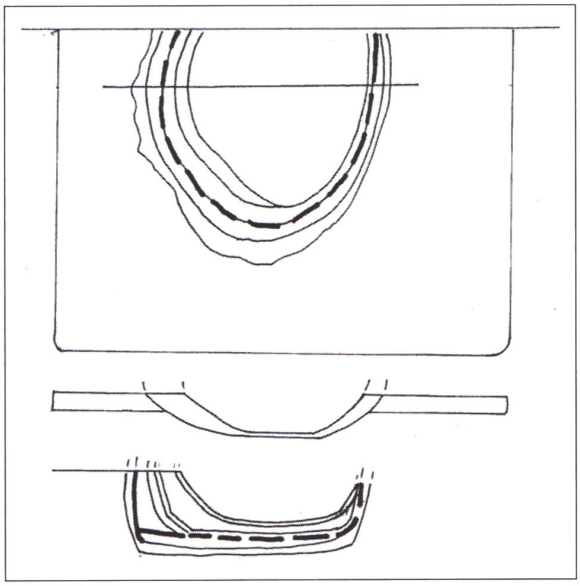

Abb. 36. Schnitt XVI b. Der Herd des Metallurgen.

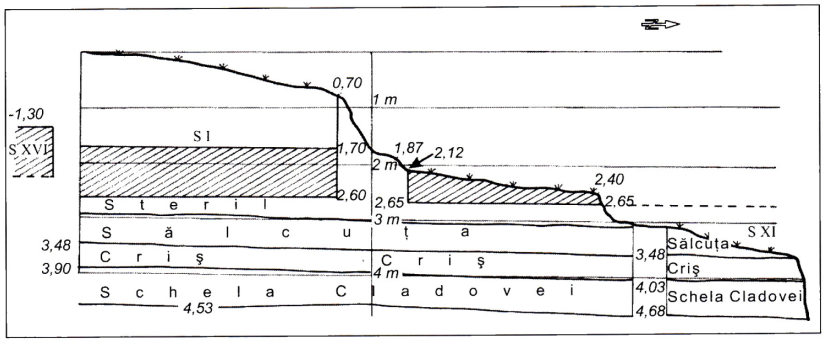

Abb. 37. Lage der Schnitte XVI, I, XII, XI mit der Coțofenischicht. Süd-nördlicher Schnitt.

Sektor B
Schnitt XXII

Ca. 180 m östlich von Sektor A hob man eine Sondage von 6 x 3 m aus (Schnitt XXII)[47] und konnte die Existenz einer 40-45 cm dicken Schicht der Coțofeni-Kultur feststellen. Ob das Donauwasser von ihrem oberen Teil etwas weggeschwemmt hat und wieviel, wissen wir nicht, als wir es fanden, war es unmittelbar von einer rezenten Alluvialschicht bedeckt.

Die Coțofeni-Kulturschicht ist von gelber Farbe und liegt in diesem Bereich in einer Tiefe zwischen –2,85 und –3,30/3,35 m vom Nullpunkt aus gesehen.

In Qu. 1 (vom Osten her) fand man bei der Tiefe von –3,12 m Lehmreste und in Qu. 2 (westlich), dem nördlichen Profil zu, eine Feuerstelle (Abb. 39). Das sind also ein Wohnniveau und ein Laufhorizont, der etwa 20 cm oberhalb einer großen Menge von Coțofenikeramik (Fragmente und Gefäße) liegt, die wir bereits früher in einer Baugrube fanden und ein älteres Niveau in diesem Gebiet belegen, und zwar in der gleichen Tiefe wie am östlichen Ende von Schnitt XII-I des Sektors A.

Östlich des Schnittes XXII[48] wurden, in einer Entfernung von ca. 90 m bis 150 m östlich, mehrere Flächen ausgegraben (XVIII-XXI, XXI-a, XXIII, XXIV), die als Sektor B bezeichnet werden[49].

Schnitte XVIII-XXI, XXI-a, XXIII, XXIV

An der westlichen Grenze des Sektors B (Abb. 40) war eine 60 cm dicke Ablagerung, die sich in der Zeit der Coțofeni-Kultur gebildet hatte. Sie verjüngt sich schrittweise in Richtung Osten. An dieser westlichen Grenze treffen wir auch Reste von nicht aufeinanderfolgen Konstruktionen an. So bildete sich in Schnitt XIX diese 70 cm dick Coțofenischicht[50]. Die Ablagerung ist gelblich, sandig und besteht aus sehr dichtem Lehm mit sehr wenigen Konkretionen und vereinzelten Resten von Keramikfragmenten, Knochen, Teilen verbrannter Erde, Holzkohlepigmenten – alles zeigt an, daß in der Nähe bestimmte Wohnkomplexe existierten. Eine schön

[46] Roman 1992, 101 und Abb. 1/2.

[47] Roman 1987, 354; Roman 1996, Abb. 5, 7.

[48] Roman 1996, Abb. 5, 7.

[49] Roman 1987, 354 ff. und Abb. 4, 12, 14 ff.; Roman 1996, 25 ff., 55 ff. und Abb. 5, 7, 18 ff., 28.

[50] Roman 1987, Abb. 12/a; Roman 1996, Abb. 18a.

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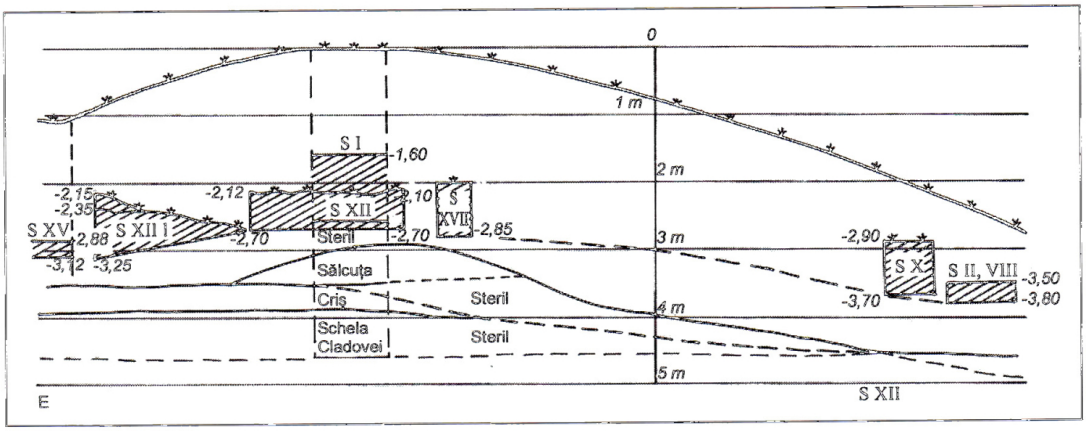

Abb. 38. Lage der Schnitte XII-I, XII, I, XVII, X, II mit der Coțofenischicht Ost-westlicher Schnitt.

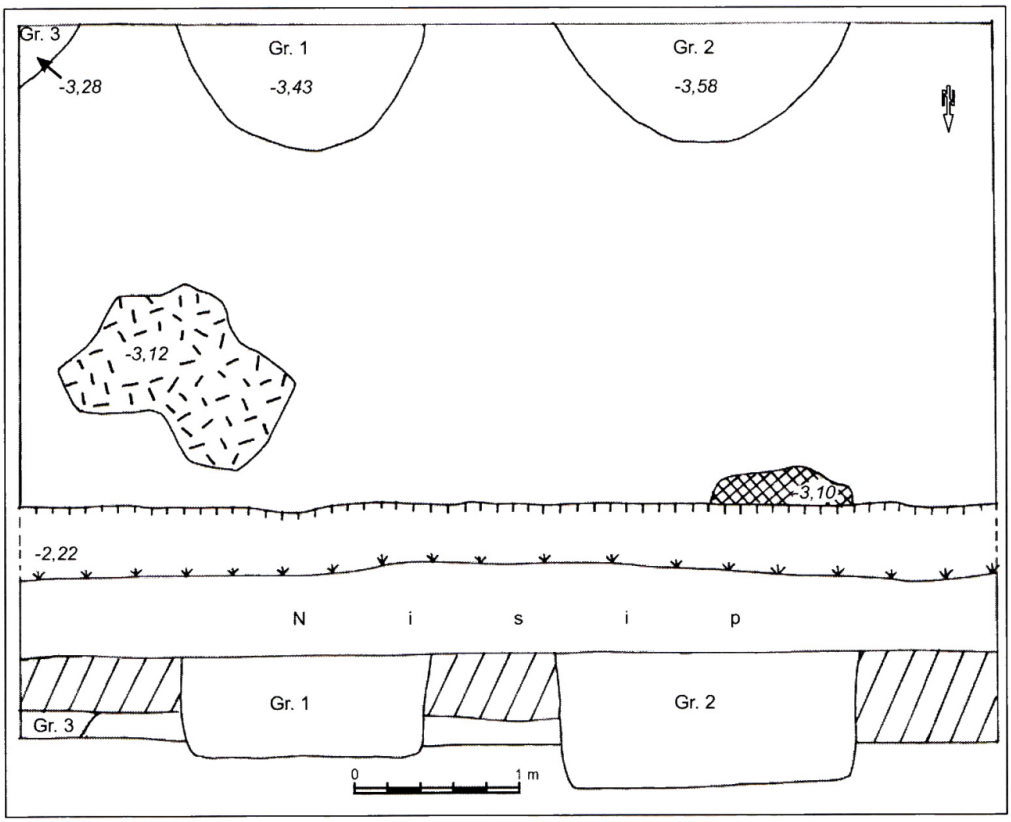

Abb. 39. Planum Schnitt XXII

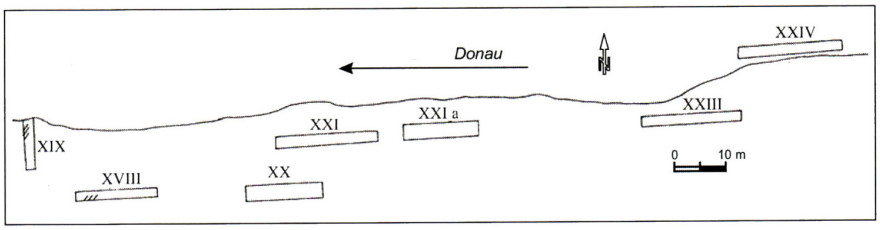

Abb. 40. Planum Sektor B mit Coțofeni-Komplexen.

geglättete Herdstelle findet man in der nordwestlichen Ecke des Schnittes (Abb. 41), unter der es auch ältere Coțofeniablagerungen gibt.

Schnitt XVIII

Ähnlich ist die Situation in Schnitt XVIII, wo eine gelbliche, sandige Schicht mit Holzkohlepigmenten, Asche und wenigen archäologischen Resten zum Vorschein kam. Auch hier trifft man, am Südprofil von Qu. 4, ungefähr 50 cm unterhalb seines oberen Teils (bei –3,45 m), auf einen Streifen bis rot gebrannter Erde. Unter diesem Streifen erscheinen bei –3,60/3,63 m noch weitere Coțofenireste. Es ist auch möglich, daß Grube 8, die von einer jüngeren Grube (8a) geschnitten wird, und die meisten Pfostengruben ebenfalls zur Coțofeni-Kultur gehören (Abb. 42). In der Coțofenischicht konnte man sehr viele Keramikreste mit rotem Überzug feststellen.

Weiter, in Richtung Osten setzt sich die Coțofenischicht in Schnitt XX aus zwei unterschiedlichen

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Niveaus zusammen: Dasjenige an der Basis ist bis 45 cm dick und besteht aus vereinzelten Coțofeniresten, die auch intrusiv sein können. Das obere Niveau hat eine Mächtigkeit von ca. 25 cm[51] und ist viel reicher an Lehm und archäologischen Coțofeniresten, es enthält aber keine Spuren von Konstruktionen.

Schnitt XXI

Der nächste Schnitt XXI (Abb. 40) liegt teilweise parallel zu Schnitt XX und zeigte uns, im Vergleich zum zuletztgenannten Schnitt, keine andere Situation. Die Ablagerung bildetet sich während der Coțofenizeit, ihr oberer Teil liegt bei einer Tiefe von –3,30 m, und in ihr finden wir sehr wenig Material und keine Spuren von Bauten.

Schnitt XXI a

In Schnitt XXI-a (Abb. 40) liegt der obere Teil der Coțofenischicht ca. –3,50 m, mit Materialien die in Qu. 3 ab –3,37 m erscheinen. Unter –3,65 m sind die Ablagerungen fundleer oder fundarm (mit Einsprengseln).

Ein letzter Komplex, der unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zieht, ist die große Grube (Grube 2 aus Schnitt XXIII[52]), die teilweise freigelegt und entleert wurde. Die Grube 2 (Abb. 43), die in Qu. 1 des Schnittes XXIII liegt, und ihr Umriß wurden bei einer Tiefe von –3,60 m festgestellt, an der Basis einer dünnen Coțofeniablagerung, die selbst aber ein fundleeres Niveau überlagert, das sich auch in der Coțofeniperiode gebildet hatte. Ausgehend vom äußeren Umriß von dieser Grube wurde Schnitt in XXIII ungefähr eine Viertel ihrer Fläche ausgegraben. Nach der Größe zu urteilen (ca. 2 m am Südprofil[53]), könnte es sich um eine Wohngrube handeln, aber in der Mitte vertieft sie sich unregelmäßig, so daß wir auch an eine mögliche Lehmentnahmegrube denken müssen. In ihr findet man eine beträchtliche Menge Keramikfragmente (oft mit Muschelmagerung des Tones, andere mit rotem Überzug, Knochen, Steine und Muscheln).

Schnitt XXIV

In Schnitt XXIV (Abb. 40) finden wir als ältestes eine Ablagerung der Gârla Mare-Kultur.

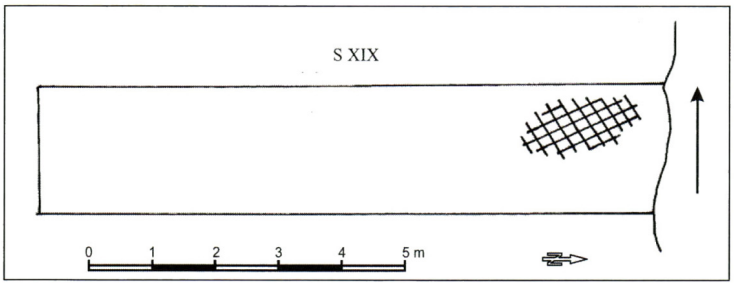

Abb. 41. Sektor B. Schnitt XIX.

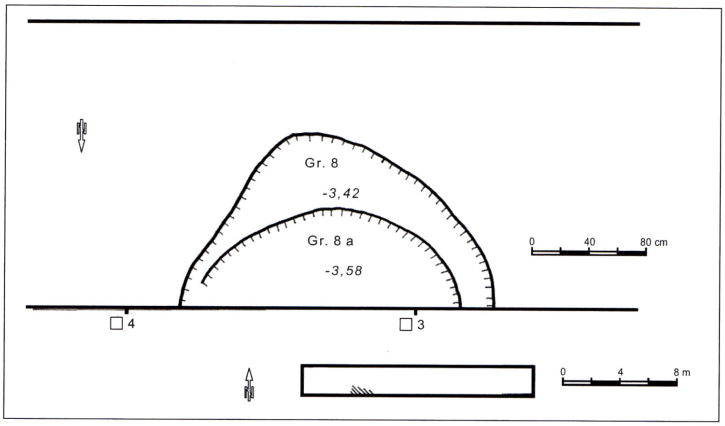

Abb. 42. Sektor B. Schnitt XVIII.

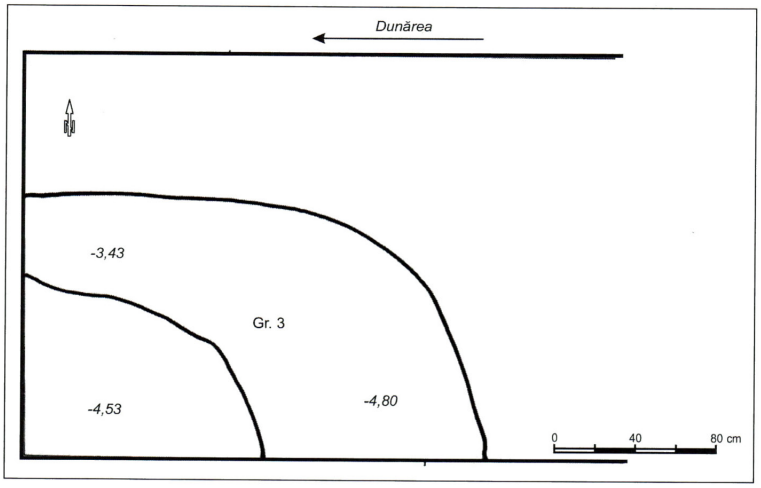

Abb. 43. Sektor B. Schnitt XXIII mit Grube 2.

Diese weit voneinander entfernten Komplexe liegen sehr tief unter Ablagerungen des letzten Abschnittes der frühen Bronzezeit, wodurch erklärlich ist, warum zahlreiche Keramikreste zum Strand gelangen konnten: Sie stammen von verschiedenen, infolge der Erosion des Donauufers zerstörten Komplexen.

[51] Roman 1987, Abb. 14/b-c; Roman 1996, Abb. 19/b.

[52] Roman 1987, Abb. 4; Roman 1996, Abb. 5, 7.

[53] Roman 1987, Abb. 17; Roman 1996, Abb. 22.

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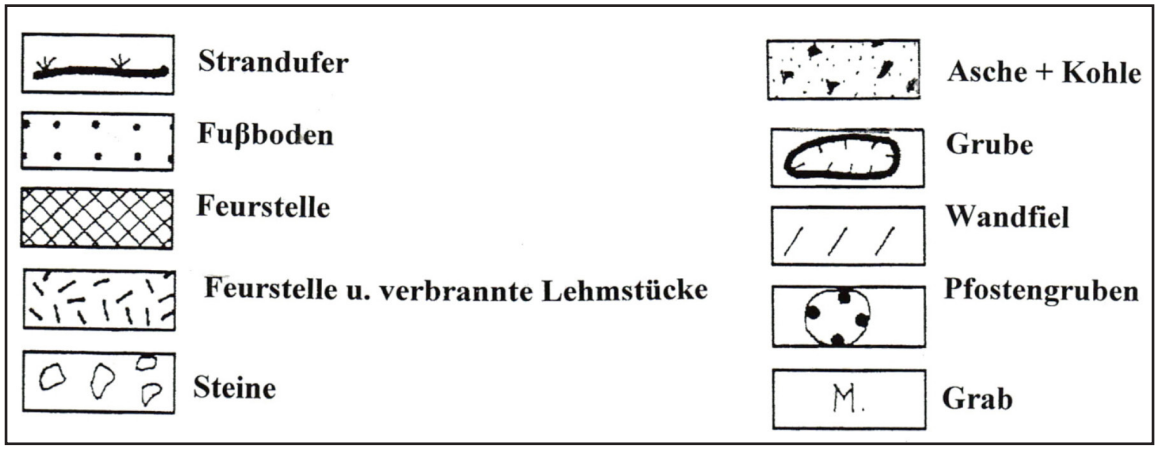

Erklärung

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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THE BURIAL BENEATH THE GETIC EARTHEN DEFENCE WALL OF THE *DAVA* FROM RADOVANU – *GORGANA ÎNTÂI*

ALEXANDRA COMŞA, RALUCA KOGĂLNICEANU, ALEXANDRU NĂLBITORU

Keywords: Getic *dava*, earthen defence wall, burial, transition period or Bronze Age.

Abstract: Beneath the Getic earthen defence wall, of the *dava* from Radovanu, a burial belonging to the transitional period, or Bronze Age, has been found. The article presents the conditions of discovery, some interesting details of the ritual determined by using taphonomic observations, as well as the anthropological studies that have been undertaken. We should note here that, based upon the taphonomic evidence, the skeleton seems to have had something under its head, had empty space around it and to have been tied around its upper part.

Cuvinte-cheie: *dava* getică, val de fortificație, înmormântare, perioada de tranziție sau epoca bronzului.

Rezumat: Sub valul de fortificație al *davei* getice de la Radovanu, a fost descoperit un mormânt aparținând perioadei de tranziție sau epocii bronzului. Articolul prezintă condițiile descoperirii, unele detalii interesante ale ritualului folosit, stabilite pe baza observațiilor tafonomice, ca şi studiul antropologic efectuat pe schelet. Ar trebui menționat aici că, pe baza indiciilor tafonomice, scheletul pare să fi avut ceva sub cap, să fi avut spațiu liber în jur şi ar fi fost legat în partea sa superioară.

The investigations carried out in 2008 on *Gorgana Întâi* from Radovanu (Călăraşi County) included the discovery of a prehistoric burial[1] beneath the earthen fortification of the Getic *dava*[2]. The interment, starting from 0.20 m beneath the earthen defence wall, had cut a thin layer belonging to the Cernavodă I culture and another, more consistent one, of the Gumelnița culture. In fact, in the case of the latter, the burial pit had partly destroyed a surface dwelling.

When excavating the skeleton, some observations could be made, which we will discuss further[3]. The individual was laid on its back, in an approximate north-south direction. The skull had slipped to the left, namely to the east, while its mandible has fallen aside (Figs. 1 and 2). This could suggest that something was placed under the deceased's head during burial, which has subsequently rotten away resulting in the detachment and falling of the skull to the left. We are certain that it was not an intentional positioning of the

Fig. 1. View of Burial no. 1.

[1] We are deeply grateful to dr. Done Şerbănescu, scientific coordinator of the excavations from Radovanu, for his kind permission allowing us to publish the burial. At the excavations from *Gorgana întâi* participated Done Şerbănescu (*Museum of the Gumelnița Civilisation* from Oltenița), Cristian Schuster, Alexandru S. Morintz (both from the *"Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology* from Bucharest), Alexandru Nălbitoru, Laurențiu Mecu (both from the *"Valahia"* University from Târgoviște), Raluca Kogălniceanu (*"Teohari Antonescu" County Museum* from Giurgiu), Ionuț Tuțulescu (*"Aurel Sacerdoțeanu" County Museum Vâlcea* from Râmnicu Vâlcea) and Claire Rennie (*University of Edinburgh*).

[2] Şerbănescu *et alii* 2009, 180. See also the study of Done Şerbănescu, Cristian Schuster, Alexandru S. Morintz, Laurențiu Mecu in the present volume.

[3] The taphonomic observations have been made according with Duday 2005.

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Fig. 2. Another view of Burial no. 1.

skull to the left[4].

The ribs of the skeleton have fallen obliquely, having their distal end towards the coxal bones. This phenomenon appears when there is an empty space around the body of the deceased. In other words it is likely that, no earth was put directly on the deceased. He was protected somehow, either with a twig basket, or with a sack made of rough leather. We should point out here that, at Radovanu, no remains of any organic matter, which are relatively easily perishable, could be observed.

The *vertebrae* were also dislocated, suggesting the existence of a stand, upon which the deceased had been placed. This stand must have been positioned slightly above the ground, so that when it rotted (subsequent to the disintegration of the soft tissues of the body), the skeleton had undergone a slight fall, which resulted in the movement of the *vertebrae* to the left (to the east).

The arms had been strongly bent, demonstrated by the hand bones being found at the level of the clavicle.

The left clavicle was found in vertical position, thus suggesting a possible tying of the upper part of the body. This phenomenon of verticalization of the clavicle is also possible when an individual is buried in a very narrow space. In this case, as the lateral limits of the pit outran the surface of the bones, we have

Fig. 3. *Norma frontalis* of the skull.

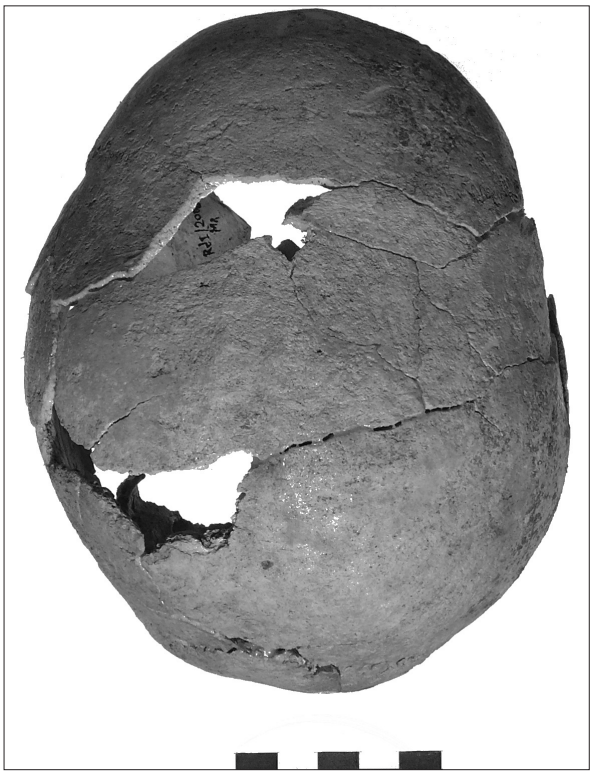

Fig. 4. *Norma verticalis* of the skull.

[4] We should stress here that the skeleton, especially the skull, had been destroyed by treasure looters after its discovery, thus resulting the differences between *figures 1* and *2*.

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ruled out the hypothesis of insufficient space.

The coxal bones were opened, the pubic symphisis being distanced from one another. This indicates the existence of an empty space, at least at the level of these bones. The left femur was out of its socket and rotated outside (to the left), in the same direction as the head.

The skeleton was in a relatively precarious condition. Yet the bones could be restored so that a series of anthropological measurements could be made.

The skull

It was almost completely reconstructed (Figs. 3-6), with small missing parts of the parietals, temporals, occipital and cranial base. The shape of the skull was ovoid in its vertical norm (Fig. 3) and "*house*" in the occipital one (Fig. 4). The cephalic indexes (8/1, 20/1, 20/8) were dolichocranian (70.0), hypsicranian (89.5) and acrocranian (63.1). The fronto-parietal index was eurimetopic (69.4). It had slightly curved parietals, curved occipital and an intermediary forehead (82.7). The facial bones were also reconstructed but with no connecting points to the skull (Figs. 7-9). The orbits were relatively high, with rectangular shape and rounded corners. The malars were partly frontalized.

The mandible was strong, robust, with pyramid-shaped, prominent mental trigone (Figs. 10-12). The areas of the mandibular condyle and coronoid process were damaged. There was a diastemata, of 4 mm, between the central incisors. Dentition was complete, with relatively large dimensions, with white, well structured enamel. The central incisors were shovel-

Fig. 7. Frontal view of the face bones.

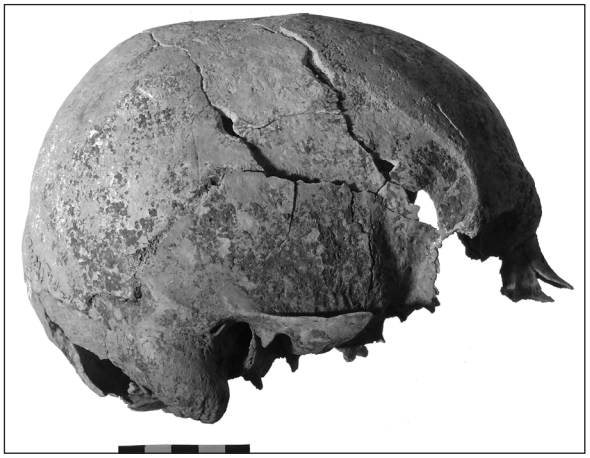

Fig. 5. *Norma lateralis* of the skull.

Fig. 6. *Norma occipitalis* of the skull.

Fig. 8. Lateral view of the face bones.

Fig. 9. Basal view of the face bones.

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shaped, a primitive feature connected both with a colder climate, and with a stronger bite[5]. *Glabella* was 3, supracilliary arches 2. The mastoid process was well developed, and of the 5th degree. The outer occipital protuberance was 2. The nasal *fossa* was of anthropin type. The canine *fossa* was 2.

Postcranial skeleton

The spine was represented by *vertebrae* coming from the cervical and dorsal regions, all in fragmentary condition. There were also small portions of ribs and *scapulae*.

The *humeri* were robust, with well developed muscle insertions of the deltoid muscle.

Radiuses and *ulnae* had rather strong muscle insertions. It was evident that the individual used to performe intense manual activities (Fig. 13).

The *sacrum* was fragmentary. The coxal bones could be almost entirely reconstructed (Fig. 14).

The *femori* were robust, with strong muscle markings (Fig. 15). The right *femur* was platimer, while the left one is eurimer, both with well developed pilaster.

The *tibiae* and *fibulae* were missing.

Age and sex assessment

Based upon the aspect of the pubic symphisis, it could be established that the individual had an age at death between 45-50 years (*stage IX* by Todd).

This argument is supported by the dentition, according to which the age can be established as follows: 45-55 years according to Lovejoy[6], approximately 45 years according to Brothwell[7], and 35-50 years according to Zubov[8]. Thus, the probable age of the individual was 45-50 years.

The sex was assessed to be male based upon the coxal bones[9].

Fig. 10. Upper view of the mandible.

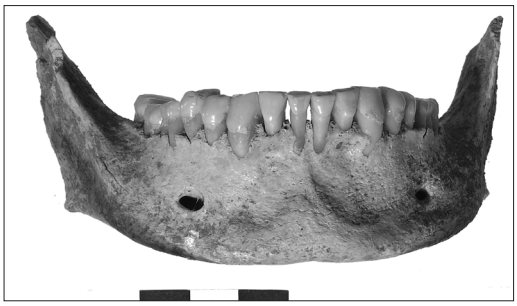

Fig. 11. Frontal view of the mandible.

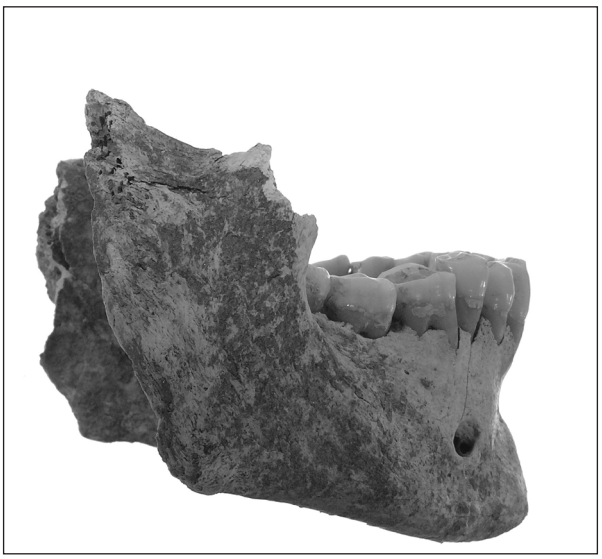

Fig. 12. Lateral view of the mandible.

Fig. 13. Long bones of the arms.

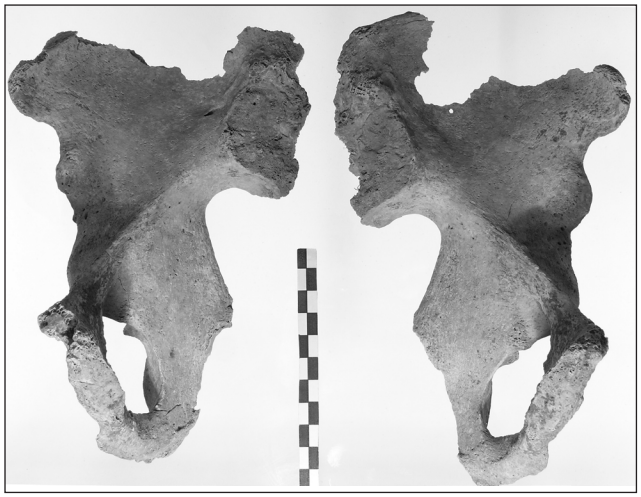

Fig. 14. Coxal bones.

[5] Matsumura 1994, 115.

[6] Piontek 1996, 69 ff., 168 ff.

[7] Brothwell 1981, 72 and fig. 3.9, 109 and fig. 4.18.

[8] Kislîi, Kapriţîn 1994, 9.

[9] Ferembach *et alii* 1980, 517-549.

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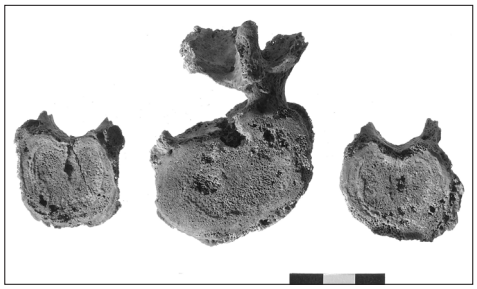

Fig. 16. Vertebral bodies with Schmörl nodes and osteophytes.

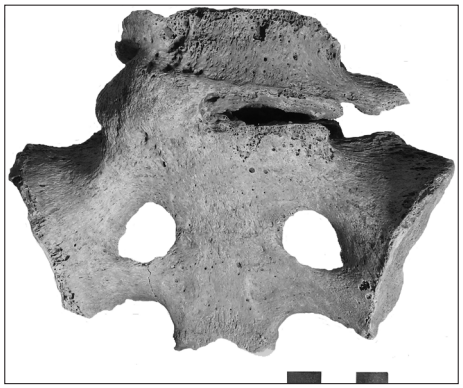

Fig. 17. Sacralization of L. 5.

Pathology

The presence of the Schmörl nodes, which are usually connected with the osteophytes, as well as with the degeneration of intervertebral discs, could be noticed at the level of the vertebral bodies. In the later case (degeneration of intervertebral discs) the content of the discs exerted a pressure upon the surface of the vertebral body. Small osteophytes (Fig. 16) were also present[10].

On the other hand, the sacralization of *L. 5* was observed (Fig. 17). This, if congenital, points to a stressed endogamy of the population, to which the individual had belonged[11]. It is also possible that this sacralization could have resulted from a trauma, given that the newly formed tissue (*callus*) is relatively well developed. On the other hand, there is a possibility that the sacralization could have been induced by the strong stress exerted upon the sacral region by long term horse riding[12].

Dental pathology

Upon the teeth the presence of a carious process could be observed on the 1st molar of the left *maxilla*, the same as on the one from the same part of the mandible (Figs. 9-10). In both cases, the cavity was placed in the contact area between the 1st molar and the 2nd premolar. The absence of the 3rd molar, which did not emerge, could be observed on the left hemiarc of the *maxilla* and mandible. There was no dental crown formed inside the bone in the breakage area existing on the left hemiarc of the *maxilla*, placed right on the spot of the missing 3rd molar.

Femur		
No. Martin	Right leg	
1	Maximal length	448
2	Morphological length	446
6	Antero-posterior diameter	31
7	Midshaft transv. diameter	27
8	Midshaft perimeter	96
9	Upper transv.diameter	35
10	Upper antero-posterior diameter	27
21	Condylar width	82
	Masiveness index	13.00

Fig. 15. Femori of the skeleton in Burial no. 1.

Stature

The height of the individual, calculated by using the three traditional methods (Manouvrier, Trotter and Gleser, and Bach and Breitinger), is 169.1 cm. This places the individual in the category of above medium sized skeletons for the male sex.

Typology

Considering the features of the skeleton, we could say that the individual belonged to the protonordic type, with some mediterranoid elements.

Comparisons and analogies

The individual that we studied has features specific to the steppe populations (representatives of the tumular ochre burials of different material cultures) that arrived on the territory of Romania as nomadic shepherds. Thus, it is comparable with skeletons from different skeletal series of this kind. We have tried to find some analogies, by comparing the mentioned skeleton with others from different sites. Indeed, the characteristics of the individual from Radovanu resemble those of the individuals discovered at Cotârgaci and belonging to the tumular ochre burials. Unfortunately, in those cases, the skulls were damaged, so that the common features were established only for the post-cranial skeletons[13].

The comparison with the individuals discovered at Vânători revealed that the female skeleton in *Burial no. 11* had closer analogies with the individual from Radovanu. These similarities were attenuated by the different sex of the subjects[14]. There are also common features with the skeleton in *Burial no. 16* from Smeeni. These similarities are restricted to the skull. The age of the individual from Smeeni is close to the one of our discovery from Radovanu (40-50 years). The skeleton from Smeeni belonged to a mixture of protoeuropoid and nordic types, or even to a protonordoid type[15], indicating a close resemblance with the skeleton from Radovanu (protonordoid type).

Even closer analogies could be made comparing the skeleton from Radovanu with those from the Brăilița series. The adult female in *Burial no. 7* from the last mentioned site has much in common with the one we are focused on, especially when the features

[10] Roberts, Manchester, 1995, 107 ff.

[11] Brothwell 1981, 109 and fig. 14.8.

[12] Rowlett 2000, 140.

[13] Perianu 1988a, 11 ff.

[14] Perianu 1988b, 132.

[15] Necrasov *et alii* 1964, 16ff.

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of the skull are taken into account[16].

The skeleton from Radovanu is also close to the female individual in *Burial no. 3* from Târpeşti, when the cephalic indexes are considered[17].

The mentioned individual has no similarities with the skeletons from Holboca[18] or those from Câmpia Covurlui[19].

[16] Necrasov, Cristescu 1957, 75-88 and Table 1.

[17] Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1964, 165 ff.

[18] Necrasov, Cristescu 1957, 73-147.

[19] Bălteanu *et alii* 1989, 11 ff.

Measurements of the skull from Radovanu (M.1/2008)

Nr. Martin	Measurements/indexes	
1	g-op	176
2	g-l	171
3	g-i	164
8	eu-eu	124
9	ft-ft	86
10	co-co	104
12	ast-ast	106
20	po-b	111
23	Horizontal circumference	524
24	po-po	312
25	n-o	370
26	n-b	127
27	b-l	125
28	l-o	110
28.1	l-i	71
28.2	i-o	39
29	n-b	112
30	b-l	110
31	l-o	91
31.1	l-i	68
31.2	i-o	34
	l-op	26
	op-o	74
43	fmt-fmt	103
43.1	fmo-fmo	95
50	mf-mf	22
52	Orbital height	30
54	al-al	27
55	n-ns	4
62	ol-st	38
63	enm2-enm2	37
63.3	width of the palatin vault	63
66	go-go	100
68	mandible depth	86
69	id-gn	36
69.1	Height at the level of the nutritive fossa	33
69.3	thickness at the level of the nutritive fossa	11
71	width of the ascending ramus	30
79.4	basal angle	76
79.3	angle of the ascending ramus	116
79.14	mental angle	77

Indexes of the skull from Radovanu (M.1/2008)

Indexes		
	8/1 cefalic index	70.5
	17/1 vertico-longitudinal index	
	17/8 vertico-transversal index	
	20/1 porio-longitudinal index	63.1
	20/8 porio-transversal index	89.5
	9/10 fronto-transversal index	82.7
	9/8 fronto-parietal index	69,4
	12/8 transversal parieto- occipital index	85.5
	16/7	88.9
	27/26	
	29/26 fronto-sagital index	98.4
	30/27 curvature index of the parietal bone	88.2
	31/28 curvature index of the occipital	88.0
	31.1/28.1	
	31.2/28.2	95.8
	l-op/l-o	

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	l-op/l-i	36.8
	40/5	
	47/45 total facial index	
	48/45 upper facial index	
	52/51 orbitary index	
	50/44	
	54/55 nasal index	
	63/62	97.4
	45/8 zygo-parietal index	
	9/43	83.5
	9/45	
	66/45	
	57/57.1	
	Naso-malar index	50.0
	31.2/31.1	
	28.2/28.1	
	66/65	33.3
	71/70	86.0
	69.3/69.1	
	68/66	
	70.3/71.1	

Measurements and indexes of the long bones of the skeleton from Radovanu (M.1/2008)

Humerus

No. Martin	Right arm	
5	Midshaft maximal diameter	24
6	Midshaft minimal diameter	19
7	Minimal perimeter	69
	Cross-section index	79.17
	Left arm	
5	Midshaft maximal diameter.	23
6	Midshaft minimal diameterl.	18
7	Minimal perimeter	6780
	Cross-section index	78.26

Radius

No. Martin	Right arm	
1	Maximal length	
3	Minimal perimeter	48
4	Transv. diam.	17
5	Ant. post diam.	12
	Cross-section index	70.59
	Left arm	
1	Maximal length	245
3	Minimal perimeter	48
4	Transversal diameter	17
5	Antero-posterior diameter	12
	Robustness index	19.59
	Cross-section index	70.59

Ulna

No. Martin	Right arm	
1	Maximal length	272
3	Minimal perimeter	42
11	Ant.post.diam.	13
12	Transv. diam.	27
	Robustness index	15.44
	Cross-section index	48.15
	Left arm	
3	Minimal perimeter	42
11	Ant. post diam.	13

Femur

No. Martin	Right leg	
1	Maximal length	448
2	Morphological length	446
6	Antero-posterior diameter	31
7	Midshaft transv. diameter	27
8	Midshaft perimeter	96
9	Upper transv.diameter	35
10	Upper antero-posterior diameter	27
21	Condylar width	82
	Masiveness index	13.00
	Solidity index	21.52
	Pilaster index	114.81
	Platimery index	77.44
	Left leg	
1	Maximal length	450
2	Morphological length	448
6	Antero-posterior diameter	31
7	Midshaft transv. diameter	26
8	Midshaft perimeter	98
9	Upper transv. diameter	34
10	Upper antero-posterior diameter	29
21	Condylar width	83
	Masiveness index	12.72
	Solidity index	21.88
	Pilsster idnex	119.23
	Platimery index	85.29

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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BETWEEN ORNAMENTS, SOCIAL STATUS AND SYMBOLISM. SPECTACLE-SHAPED PENDANTS OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN BRONZE AGE

CRISTIAN IOAN POPA

Keywords: spectacle-shaped pendants, Early Bronze Age, tumular necropolis, Coțofeni culture, Transylvania.

Abstract: Amidst the fashionable ornaments that were in use at the beginning of the Bronze Age, the spectacle-shaped pendants (Brillenspiralen) played a special role. Charged with an obvious symbolism and used for expressing a high social status they are extremely rare for Transylvania, appearing at the end of the Aeneolithic and existing until the first Iron Age.

In this study we aim to discuss the items that were found in Transylvania dating since the beginning of the Bronze Age, as they form a particular category, with no significant typological variations. Spectacle-shaped pendants known up tu now in Transylvania come entirely from the Apuseni Mountains. All pieces were part of a certain context, without exception, belonging to the inventory of tumular burials (Livezile-*Dealul Sârbului*, Poiana Aiudului-*Dealul Velii*, Ampoița-*Peret*, Mada-*Chiciorele*). These ornaments were worn around the neck, at Mada being also discovered a twisted string of vegetal matter, used for hanging the pendant.

We also emphasize an interesting aspect. In the particular times and cultural evolutions that have produced the pendants there were no pottery or plastic representations and vice-versa. In the Transylvanian area of the Coțofeni culture, such artefacts are missing but in the final phase (III) we have numerous representations of them on pottery. A similar situation we have for the Wietenberg culture, also lacking such pendants[1], but with one representation on a vessel. The same situation occurs in the area of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare culture, where no artefacts have been found, but some anthropomorphic statuettes are depicted such pendants wearing around the neck. For the same large area, in the Early Bronze Age there are such artifacts but no pottery representations.

Early Bronze Age specific type to Transylvania is defined as a distinct type from the "Danubian group", which we call "western Transylvanian". Spectacle-shaped pendants in burial tumuli discovered in the Apuseni Mountains from Transylvania are dated at the end of the EBA II and culturally they belong most likely to the Copăceni cultural group.

Cuvinte-cheie: pandantive în formă de ochelari, perioada timpurie a epocii bronzului, morminte tumulare, cultura Coțofeni, Transilvania.

Rezumat: În cadrul elementelor de podoabă aflate în uz, la modă, în perioada de început a Epocii Bronzului, un loc aparte îl ocupă pandantivele-ochelari (*Brillenspiralen*). Piese extrem de rare pentru Transilvania, încărcate cu o simbolistică evidentă dar şi exponente ale unui anumit statut social, pandantivele de acest tip au o evoluție ce începe la finele Eneoliticului şi continuă până în prima epocă a fierului.

În lucrarea de față, ne propunem să discutăm piesele care se încadrează la începutul epocii Bronzului din Transilvania, întrucât acestea formează o categorie unitară din punct de vedere tipologic. Pandantivele-ochelari din Transilvania, cunoscute până în momentul de față, provin în întregime din Munții Apuseni. Toate exemplarele care au un context sigur, au făcut parte, fără excepție, din inventarul unor morminte tumulare (Livezile-*Dealul Sârbului*, Poiana Aiudului-*Dealul Velii*, Ampoița-*Peret*, Mada-*Chiciorele*). Aceste podoabe se purtau la gât, la Mada fiind descoperit şi şnurul răsucit din materie vegetală de care era atârnat pandantivul.

Merită subliniată şi o constatare interesantă. În Transilvania, în aria culturii Coțofeni, unde astfel de artefacte lipsesc, în faza finală (III) avem numeroase reprezentări ale unor astfel de piese pe vasele ceramice. O situație similară o avem şi pentru cultura Wietenberg, din care lipsesc asemenea podoabe, dar regăsim o reprezentare pe un vas. În parametrii similari discutăm şi pentru aria culturii Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare unde, la gâtul unor statuete antropomorfe, apar redate pandantive-ochelari, însă nu se cunosc ca artefacte de metal. În schimb, în perioada Bronzului Timpuriu, în acelaşi spațiu, cunoaştem piese de metal, lipsind însă total reprezentările pe ceramică.

Tipul specific pentru începutul epocii bronzului din Transilvania, îl definim ca un tip distinct de „grupa danubiană", pe care noi îl numim „vest-transilvănean". Pandantivele-ochelari descoperite în mormintele tumulare din Munții Apuseni, le datăm la sfârşitului BT II transilvănean, iar din punct de vedere cultural, ele aparțin, cel mai probabil, grupului cultural Copăceni.

[1] Baltag, Boroffka 1996, 389.

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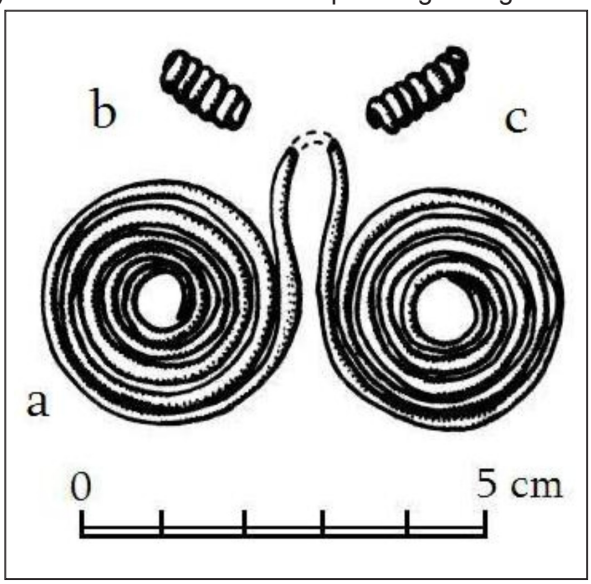
I. Reasoning

Amidst the fashionable ornaments that were in use at the beginning of the Bronze Age, the spectacle-shaped pendants (*Brillenspiralen*) played a special role. Charged with an obvious symbolism and used for expressing a high social status, they are extremely rare for Transylvania, appearing at the end of the Aeneolithic and existing until the first Iron Age.



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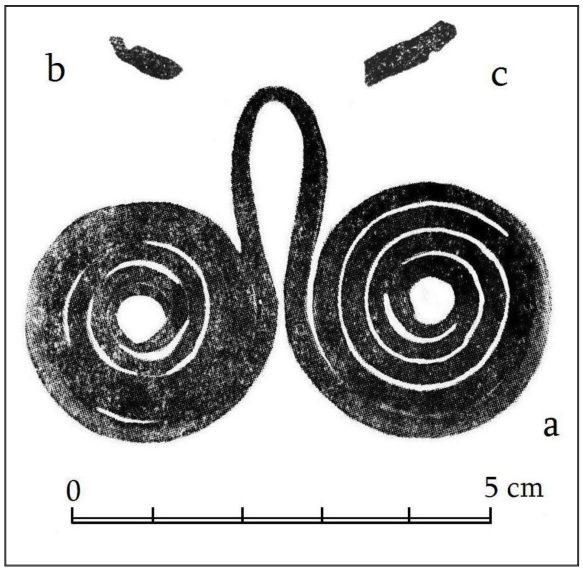

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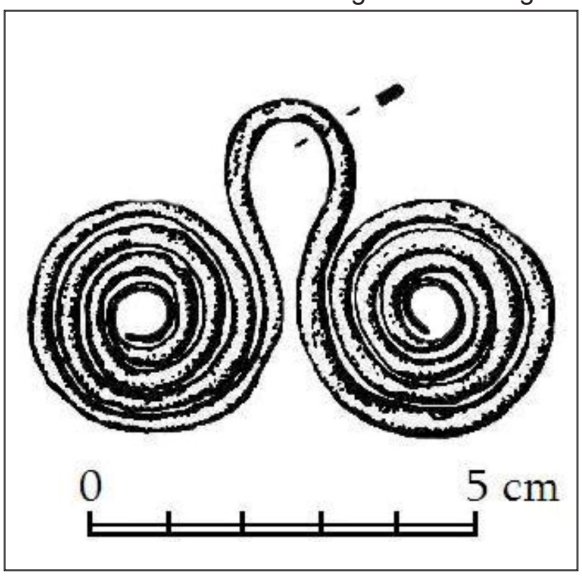
In this study we aim to discuss the items that were found in Transylvania dating since the beginning of the Bronze Age, as they form a particular category, with no significant typological variations. These ornamental pieces found within the Carpathian arc have lacked a dedicated study and therefore we aim, under the circumstances of discussing an unpublished pendant, to reiterate the discussions regarding the context, dating and usage of these ornaments.

I.1. The spectacle-shaped pendant from Mediaş Museum

This study takes the opportunity of using an unpublished pendant kept in the Mediaş Museum old collections. It bears the inventory number Mz. Mediaş, nr. inv. 156, but with no description of the place of discovery and we can only assume it comes from the Mediaş surrounding area.

The pendant was made of a single piece of metal and was crafted through hammering. The spirals (4) are flat if seen from aside, being square in shape, with the exception of the exterior ones, slightly rounded, a situation that might have occurred due to their usage in time. On the metal's surface numerous patches with a rough surface and small holes can be seen. It was crafted out of copper, or bronze and most likely the natural occurring slip was removed as part of the conservation process. Size: length = 7.1 cm; height = 5 cm; width = 0.3 cm; weight = 45.50 gr. (Pl. 2/2-3).



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Pl. 1. Spectacle-shaped pendants (1 a; 2 a; 3) and saltaleoni (1 b-c; 2 b-c): Ampoița (1); Poiana Aiudului-*Dealul Velii* (2); Mada (3) (after H. Ciugudean -1; N. Vlassa et al. -2; Rişcuța et al. -3).

II. The context of provenance for spectacle-shaped pendants in Transylvania

In Transylvania this type of pendants is known to come entirely from the region of the Apuseni Mountains. All the items that were recovered from known contexts come, with no exception, from the inventory of tumular type burials.

The first mention of an Early Bronze Age spectacle-shaped pendant to be found in Transylvania comes from the excavations carried out by S. Fenichel in the Apuseni Mountains. Among the inventory items of one of the tumular burials excavated at Livezile-*Dealul Sârbului*[2], he found one such pendant, with no further reference to its exact position within the burial (Pl. 2/1).

Almost a century later, the *tumular* necropolis at Poiana Aiudului-*Dealul Velii* was researched and within three of the burials this type of pendant was found. In burial M 4 the pendant was found placed in the chest area of the dead person, next to two pieces

[2] Fenichel 1891, 162 (drawing).

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of a saltaleoni necklace[3] (Pl. 1/2).

At the same time, the necropolis from Ampoița-*Peret* was also investigated, in one of the *tumular* burials (M 2 from *tumulus* 3) a similar spectacle-shaped pendant being found; like at Poiana Aiudului, it was associated with two copper saltaleoni[4] (Pl. 1/1).

1

The last known pendant was found in the central burial of a *tumulus* excavated at Mada-*Chiciorele*[5] (Pl. 1/3). Two other fragments with a rounded cross-section that were recovered in a *tumulus* at Cetea (Alba County) come either from such ornaments[6], or from other pieces.

The pendant from Mediaş had no information regarding the place of discovery, but we can assume it comes from a burial context, somewhere close to this area (?).

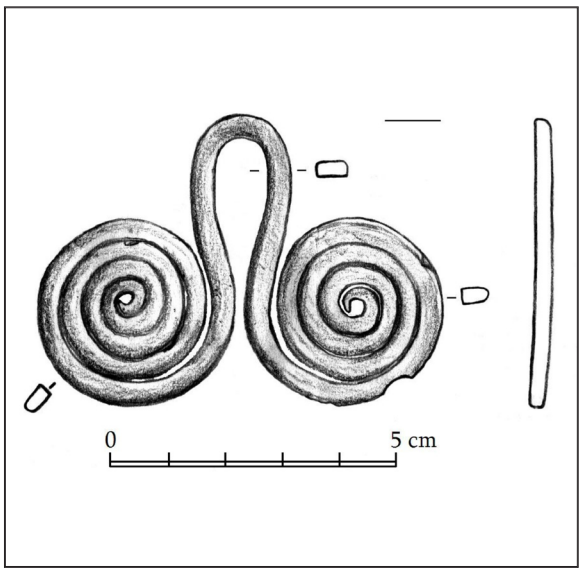
III. Wearing the spectacle-shapes pendants

In the literature, the issue of how these ornaments were actually worn is often left unsolved. If for other areas there are stone carvings that depict how these items were worn, in Transylvania there are no such hints, the only available information being that of the archaeological context.

Their placement within graves such as those from Poiana Aiudului, Ampoița and Mada allow us to realise how they were worn in ancient times.

N. Vlassa was the first one to observe how these were worn, as a result of excavating *tumular* burials in Transylvania. At Poiana Aiudului, Vlassa had found one such item, next to two saltaleoni pieces, in the chest area of a skeleton (burial M 4, *tumulus* IX/1978); he suggested that they were worn on the neck[7]. At Ampoița, in burial 2 from *tumulus* 3, two small copper saltaleoni were hung upon the same string that held the pendant, most likely worn on the neck[8]. The *in situ* position of the pendant in the grave from Mada-*Chiciorele*, showed again that these types of pendants were worn on the neck (Pl. 3/3; 4/1-2).

Even more, the excavations at Mada enabled us to submit to discussion the nature of the string that held the pendant; a unique situation for Romania arose, as organical remains of the string were identified as a round dark trace, almost 2 cm in diameter; it was possible to see how the string was twisted as it crossed through the pendant loop. Thus, it is clear that this pendant was worn on the neck at the time of the burial. The thickness and the dark colour of the string trace[9] should be related to the



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Pl. 2. Spectacle-shaped pendants: Barszów (1); „Mediaş" (2 -drawing; 3 -photo, after J. Matuschick -1; unpublished -2).

[3] Vlassa *et al.* 1985-1986, 62 and pl. XI/2-3; Vlassa *et al*. 1987, 117 and pl. IX/1, 4.

[4] Ciugudean 1986, 76 and fig. 6/5; Ciugudean 1991, 85, 94 f. and fig. 20/1-2.

[5] Rișcuța *et al.* 2009.

[6] Research carried by C. I. Popa, C. Plantos and colleagues (2005).

[7] Vlassa *et al*. 1985-1986, 62 and pl. XI/3; Vlassa *et al*. 1987, 117 and pl. IX/4.

[8] Ciugudean 1986, 76 and fig. 6/3-4; Ciugudean 1991, 95 and fig. 20/1-2; Ciugudean 1995, 14 and fig. 6/11; Ciugudean 1996, 33, 119 and fig. 31/11.

[9] Unpublished research (2002). The soil that carried the pendant with the string trace was carefully removed and transported to the "1 Decembrie 1918" University laboratory in Alba Iulia. Unsuccessful treatments re-

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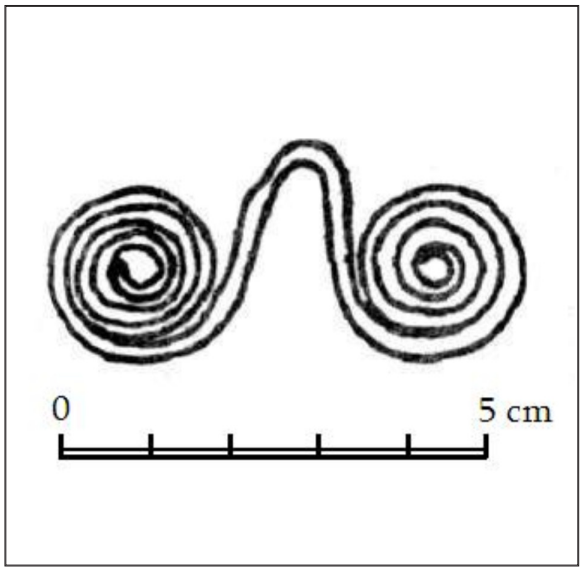
fact that it was made of a textile nature and expanded in humid conditions, after that becoming pseudo-fossilized (Pl. 3/3; 4/1-2). We do not know what was observed at Poiana Aiudului, but there is a note that says the pendant and the saltaleoni were hung upon a vegetal fibre[10].



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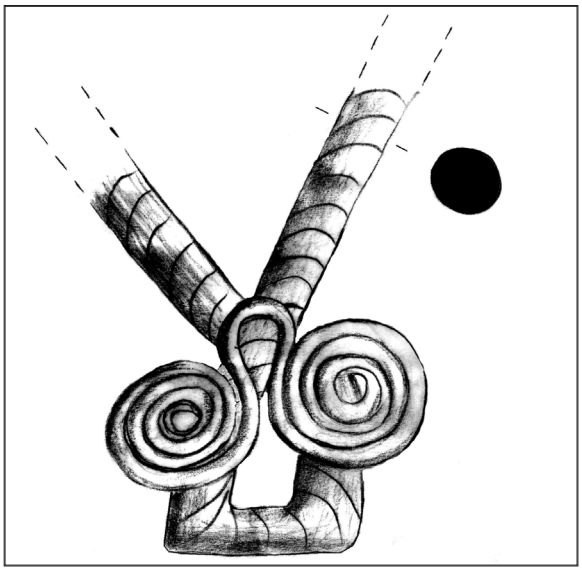
Therefore, we conclude that, in the Early Bronze Age Transylvania, the spectacle-shaped pendants were actually worn on the neck by using a string made of organic materials, such as textiles, leather and so on (Pl. 7/1).

Also interesting are the representations of these pendants on pottery and stone, in various ages and regions; these can indirectly render how the items were worn in the chest area, daily, or on special occasions. For example, on the *stellae* from Petit Chasseur (Sion, Switzerland) a character is depicted wearing a pendant on the neck and hanging upon a string that descends towards the lower part of the chest[11] (Pl. 6/1-2). An even clearer suggestion comes from the depictions on the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare statuettes of such pendants, carried on the neck by using a string[12] (Pl. 8/1-4, 5-6).

Smaller similar items were placed around the head, probably carried by a mesh, or being items



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Pl. 3. Spectacle-shaped pendants from Livezile-*Dealul Sârbului* (1) and Ploieşti-*Triaj* (2) and the in situ context of a spectacle-shaped pendant together with its string in burial 5 at Mada-*Chiciorele*) (after H. Ciugudean -1; I. Miclea, R. Florescu -2; unpublished -3).

in a "head-to-back" garment[13] (Pl. 7/3), as indicated by the representations on the Ossimo *stellae*[14]. For the moment, we do not have such small items for Transylvania, but they appear in the Mureş culture, in Banat and in the Beba Veche cemetery[15]. In the necropolis, at Mokrin, several ornaments of smaller dimensions were discovered, even in the leg area of the skeleton[16].

In close associations with the spectacle-shaped pendants and linked with the way they were worn, we have to mention the *saltaleoni* pieces; they were meant to guide the string through the pendant loop and they were always in pairs. They are crafted from thin copper foil, curled into a tubular shape. Such items were found with *Brillenspiralen* pendants at the

sulted in the destruction of this fragile trace.

[10] Vlassa *et al*. 1985-1986, 62.

[11] Matuschik 1996, 28 and fig. 9/4.

[12] Dumitrescu 1961, 262 and pl. CLII (statuette 1); CLIII (statuette 2); CLIV (statuette 3); CLV (statuette 6); CVLI (statuette 7); CLVIII (statuette 10); CLXI (statuette 11); Müller-Karpe 1980, pl. 326/3-4, 6-9; Chicideanu-Şandor, Chicideanu 1990, 62 and fig. 3/3, 6/3a, 7a, 7/2a, 12.

[13] See the case of the Mokrin necropola (Girić 1971, 49, 59, 66, 69, 73, 81 f., 84, 94, 107, 109, 126, 133, 150, 156, 165, 168, 171, 219-226, T. X/2-burial 18; XIII/2-burial 39; XVII/1 – burial 53; XIX/1 – burial 57; XXI/2 – burial 69; XXIV/1 – burial 84; XXV/1 – burial 89; XXVI/4 – burial 85; XXVII/1 – burial 90; XXVIII/1 – burial 91; XXXIV/5 – burial 109; LX/4 – burial 136; XLII/1 – burial 140; LI/1 – burial 182; LIV/1 – burial 200; LXII/1 – burial 237; LXVI/3 – burial 246; LXVIII/1 – burial 261; LXIX/1 – burial 266; LXXI/2 – burial 271); Leeb 1994, fig. 11/6; Matuschik 1996, fig. 9/1-3; Ciugudean 1996, 120; Gogâltan 1999, 170.

[14] Matuschik 1996, fig. 9/5.

[15] Gogâltan 1999, 169 f. and fig. 32/2-3, 7-8.

[16] Girić 1971, 47, T. VII/4 (burial 16).

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Poiana Aiudului[17] (Pl. 1/2) and Ampoița burials[18] (1/1).

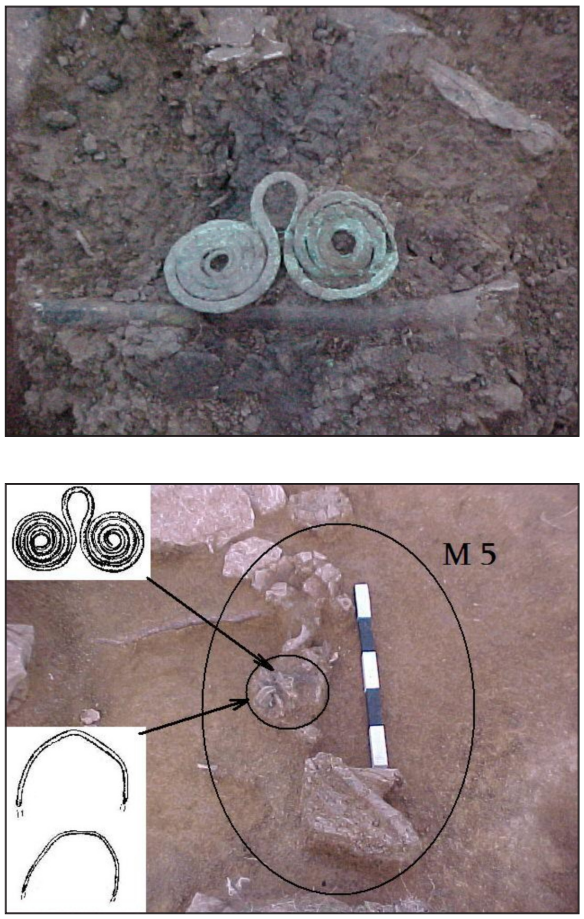
IV. Representations of *Brillenspiralen* on pottery

In Transylvania there are numerous representations of such pendants on the Coțofeni ware. It is a paradox given the fact that there are no metal items of such nature throughout the entire culture. We can assume that the existence of this type of ornament is indirectly documented by the pottery manufacturers that have carved this symbol into the soft clay of unfired pottery.

All these pottery fragments originate in Coțofeni III habitations. Such is the case at Răchita-*Vârful Zăpozii*[19] (Pl. 5/7), Sebeş-*Papuc*[20] (Pl. 5/8), Ampoița-*La Pietre*[21] (Pl. 5/1), Şeuşa-*Gorgan*[22], recently inventoried, and we can add, in our opinion, fragments from Câlnic (Pl. 5/2[23]; 6/3[24]) and Livezile[25] (Pl. 5/6) (all of them in the Alba County)[26], as they can only belong to the same type of decorations. This original decoration was placed in registers on the vessel shoulder, or isolated, on the handle and almost all the time, on larger recipients such as water jugs (pitchers) or *amphorae* (Pl. 5/5). Even though there are no metal items found in the Coțofeni Culture, arguments to their existence being issued before[27]; we hereby adhere to this hypothesis, even if the actual proof is missing now. The only find that could be linked to this is the mentioned bronze spiral (not depicted as *Brillenspirale*) found in a burial from Tolisavac-Banjevci (Serbija), together with a Coțofeni pot[28].

This pattern also appears as a pair of spectacle-spirals[29] on the bottom of a bowl found at Albeşti and belonging to the Bronze Age Wietenberg Culture; this is also a culture that has not provided actual metal ornaments of this type. From the Hallstatt period of the Iron Age, a pot and a fragment with such ornaments depicted on them were found in the Nagyberki-Szalacska settlement, in Hungary[30].

Most likely these pendants reproduced on the pottery of Coțofeni and Wietenberg cultures are representations of certain symbols. The same interpretation was given by J. Roussot-Larroque for similar reproductions on the *stellae* from Western Europe; he associates these, in a broader view, to ideological mutations that translate into the relation between funerary architecture and symbolic representations[31].



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Pl. 4. Burial 5 (tumulus 3) at Mada-*Chiciorele*: spectacle-shaped pendants and the twisted string *in situ* (1); the skeleton and the placement of metal pieces (2).

V. Typology

The pendants depicted on the Coțofeni pottery (Pl. 5/3-4) are dated towards the end of the Aeneolithic and the beginning of the Bronze Age[32]. Thus, the spectacle-spiral from a pot found at Sebeş-*Papuc* (Pl. 5/8) and probably those found at Ampoița (Pl. 5/1) have analogies in the Jordanów type, as revealed at Barszów[33] (Pl. 2/1) and in the "Danubian" group also, dated at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age[34]. The spirals represented on pottery fragments from Câlnic (both pieces) (Pl. 5/2; 6/3) and at Livezile

[17] Vlassa *et al.* 1985-1986, 62 and pl. XI/2; Vlassa *et al.* 1987, 117 and pl. IX/1.

[18] Ciugudean 1991, 85, 94 f. and fig. 20/1; Ciugudean 1996, 121 and fig. 31/11.

[19] Roman 1976, 17 f. and pl. 43/7; Roman 1977, 195 and pl. 49/16; Andrițoiu 1985, 13, reference 34; Ciugudean 1986, 76; Ciugudean 1991, 95; Andrițoiu 1993, reference 131; Ciugudean 1996, 119; Ciugudean 2000, 36 and pl. 141/1; Ciugudean 2002, 99 and pl. 3/1.

[20] Andrițoiu 1985, 13, reference 34; Ciugudean 1986, 76; Ciugudean 1991, 95; Andrițoiu 1993, reference 131; Ciugudean 1996, 119; Ciugudean 2000, 36 and, pl. 141/2; Ciugudean 2002, 99 and pl. 3/3.

[21] Ciugudean 2002, 99 and pl. 3/2.

[22] Ciugudean 2002, 99.

[23] Roman 1976, 28 and pl. 43/5; this author considers the motif as a *"simple spiral"*.

[24] Unpublished.

[25] Schroller 1933, pl. 29/10. P. Roman wrongfully illustrates the discovery, and considers it to be a *"spiral shaped"* representation (Roman 1976, 28 and pl. 43/4).

[26] The presence of this decorative pattern in Banat is not documented, as it was stated by mistake (Ciugudean 1996, 120).

[27] Andrițoiu 1993, reference 131.

[28] Garašanin 1987, 53.

[29] Baltag, Amlacher 1988, 99 and pl. II/3; Baltag, Boroffka 1996, 389, 392.

[30] Kemenczei 1984, fig. 3/7; 8.

[31] Roussot-Larroque 1983, 210 f. and fig. 4/1-2, 4.

[32] Matuschik 1996; see also Ciugudean 2000, 36 f.; Ciugudean 2002, 99.

[33] Matuschik 1996, 6-8 and fig. 2/1.

[34] Matuschik 1996, fig. 6/2-4.

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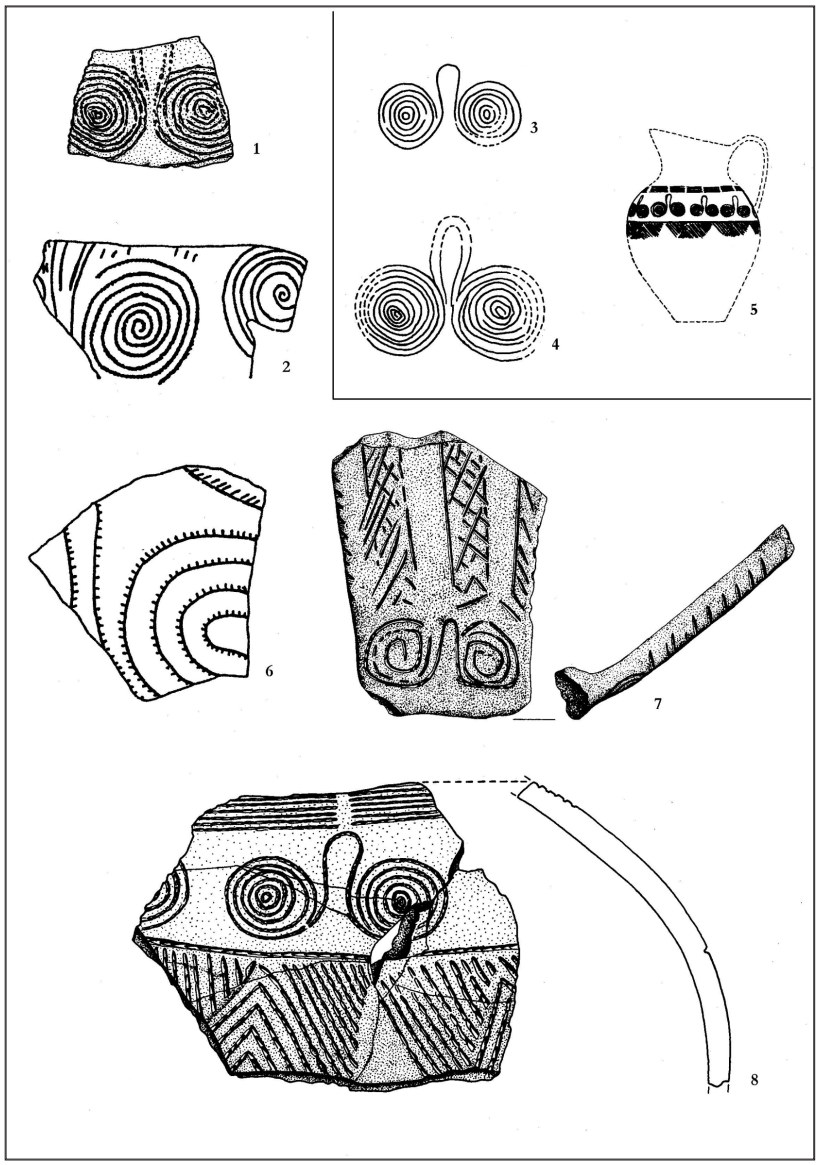
(Pl. 5/6), having and elongated loop, are similar to metal items from the "west-alpine" group, dated as Late Aeneolithic[35] and in the "Danubian" group[36]. A particular type is depicted on a handle at Răchita (Pl. 5/7), in which the loop barely stretches outside the spirals; it has also analogies with the "west-alpine"[37] and "Danubian" groups[38].



Pl. 5. Representations of spectacle-shaped pendants on Coțofeni pottery (1-2, 6-8), reconstructions of the model-artefact from pottery representations (3-4) and that of a vessel decorated with such representations, from a fragment found at Sebeş-*Râpa Roşie* (5): Ampoița (1); Câlnic (2); Livezile (6); Răchita (7); Sebeş (8) (after H. Ciugudean -1; P. Roman -2, 6).

The spectacle-shaped pendants found in *tumular* burials at Livezile, Ampoița, Cheile Aiudului and Mada are identical in type and manufacturing mode. Both I. Matuschik and H. Ciugudean place these items from the Apuseni Mountains in the "Danubian" and "west-alpine" groups[39].

We intent to discuss a few typology related issues that affect the already mentioned classifications. All of the discoveries from the Apuseni Mountains form a single type, with very similar dimensions and crafted by hammering. The spirals, although carefully wrapped on the outside, are not closely wrapped on the inside, leaving an empty space, an element of specificity to the type. The loop that holds the string is elegantly raised above the spirals. In all of these cases we believe that the pieces were neck-worn pendants. Given these common and well individualised features we believe that it is justified the creation of a "west-Transylvanian" type, within the larger "Danubian" group. To this type we also add the pendant found at Ploieşti (Muntenia). The item from "Mediaş" is somehow different in details from the pendants found in the Apuseni Mountains. The differences are: the "Mediaş" piece weights more than the rest and its spirals are tightly wrapped, both on the outside and on the inside, similar to the pendant from Barszów, belonging to the Jordanów type[40].

The differences among the "west-Transylvanian" type and the other types of the "Danubian" group, found mainly around the Mureş-Tisza river confluence consist in dimensions and the way that they were worn on the body. The items from Transylvania are heavy neck ornaments (Pl. 7/1) while the others, well illustrated by the pendants from the Mokrin necropolis, are small ornaments, worn as part of "head-to-back" garments (Pl. 7/3). These details seem to have been missed in the discussions that were carried over them and we consider them to justify even more the existence of a "west-Transylvanian" type.

VI. Datation and cultural affiliation

When the spectacle-shaped pendants were found at Poiana Aiudului, T. Soroceanu dated them in a Coțofeni horizon, but he considered them to come from a foreign milieu than that of this particular culture.

This opinion was suggested to him by N. Vlassa, the one who had performed the excavations in the *Dealul Velii tumular* necropolis, published only posthumously. In the two studies that were published (in German and Romanian) it is stated with more details what Soroceanu summed up ten years before: the pendants, as most of the burials inventory, are placed within a late Coțofeni horizon, but not necessarily belonging to this culture but to the one

[35] Matuschik 1996, 11-14 and fig. 4/2-3, 6-7.

[36] Matuschik 1996, 20, 23-27 and fig. 6/5, 7.

[37] Matuschik 1996, fig. 1/1; 4/1, 4.

[38] Matuschik 1996, fig. 6/8.

[39] Matuschik 1996, 11-27 and fig. 11; Ciugudean 2002, 99.

[40] Matuschik 1996, 6-8 and fig. 2/1.

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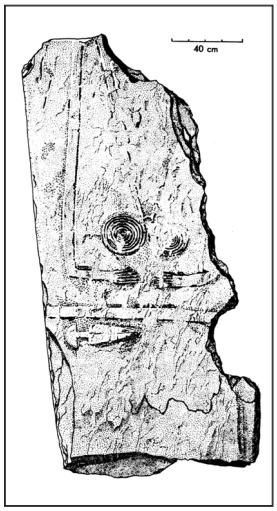
that followed immediately after[41].

If at one moment H. Ciugudean attributed these items to Jordansmühl and Brześć Kujawski type populations coming from the north and penetrating the late Coțofeni areas[42], we cannot accept this hypothesis nowadays. South of the Danube, in one of the burials from the Coțofeni *tumular* necropolis from Târnava two (copper?) spirals (*Brillenspiralen* ?) have emerged, with analogies in the Zimnicea cemetery[43]. The two items not discussed by St. Alexandrov in the context of the Coțofeni metalwork[44], most likely represent imports from the ochre burials cultural environment.



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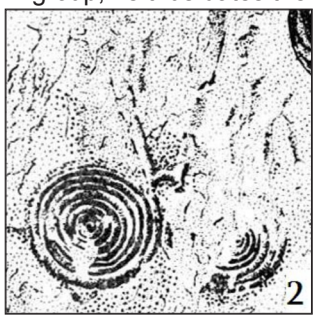
H. Ciugudean comes back on his initial assignment and now constantly places the discoveries of spectacle-shaped pendants in the burials from Ampoița and Cheile Aiudului to the Livezile cultural group; he thus dates them in the Early Bronze Age of Transylvania (BT I)[45].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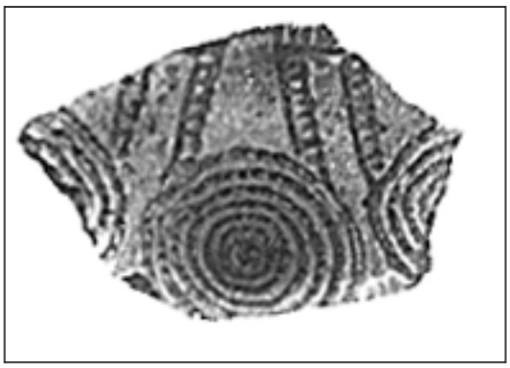
Given the funerary contexts that have resulted from careful treated *tumulus* stratigraphies we declare here that they belong to a later phase. Placing the Copăceni type discoveries to a later horizon than that proposed earlier and thus reaching the beginning of the BT III (as seen from the excavations at Gligoreşti, Cluj county) means that we find ourselves, in broad lines, in the middle of the Early Bronze Age, for the intra-Carpathian area[46]. Therefore, we believe that the spectacle-shaped pendants found in *tumular* burials in the Apuseni Mountains belong to the end phase of the BT II in Transylvania, and culturally, to the Copăceni group.

To a later phase, we date the smaller pendants from the Mureş culture area. At Mokrin, the spectacle spirals disappear from the inventory of burials towards the end of the II b sub-phase[47]. At Pitvaros, a cemetery that illustrates a later phase than Mokrin[48], just one more such spiral appears[49]. Fl. Gogâltan places the spectacle-shaped pendants from Beba Veche and Periam at the end stages of the Early Bronze Age in Banat and the finds from Pecica at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age[50].

VII. Conclusions

These pendants, having a clear ornamental role, are exclusively crafted from metal, either copper and/or bronze. They appear in the Aeneolithic[51] and continue their evolution towards the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age[52]. The spatial distibution of this type of pendants from the Early Bronze Age covers mostly the Apuseni Mountains area, with the exceptions from Ploieşti-*Triaj*[53] (Pl. 3/2), a girl's *tumulus* burial (M 3, T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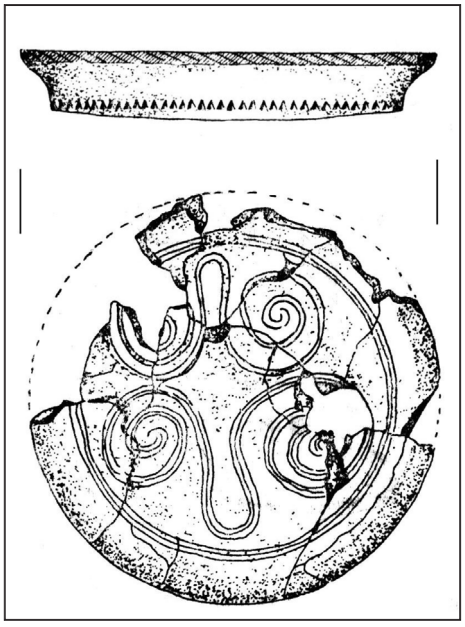
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Pl. 6. Petit Chasseur stella (Sion, Switzerland), with the depiction of a spectacle-shaped pendant (1) detail with the ornament and the way it was worn (2); Coțofeni pottery fragment with spectacle-shaped pendants represented from Câlnic (3) a Wietenberg bowl with spectacle-shaped pendant representations from Albeşti (Mureş county) (4) (after J. Matuschick – 1-2; unpublished – 3; Gh. Baltag, E. Amlacher – 4).

[41] Vlassa *et al.* 1985-1986, 62 and pl. XI/2-3; Vlassa *et al*. 1987, 117 and pl. IX/1, 4.

[42] Ciugudean 1977, 55.

[43] Roman 1976, 33.

[44] See Alexandrov 1990, 3 f.

[45] Ciugudean 1996, 80, 93.

[46] See discussions in Popa 2005, 82-84, 86-88, 100-103.

[47] Soroceanu 1975, 36 and fig. 5.

[48] Soroceanu 1975, 42.

[49] Bóna 1965, 34 and pl. IV/9.

[50] Gogâltan 1999, 170.

[51] Matuschik 1996, 2-8, 27 f., 31-34; Parzinger 1992, 244 f.

[52] See Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 73 and pl. 74/42; Andrițoiu 1993, reference 131; Enăchiuc 1995, 281, fig. 13/1.

[53] Ciugudean 1986, 76; Roman *et al*. 1992, p. 105; Matuschik 1996, 43.

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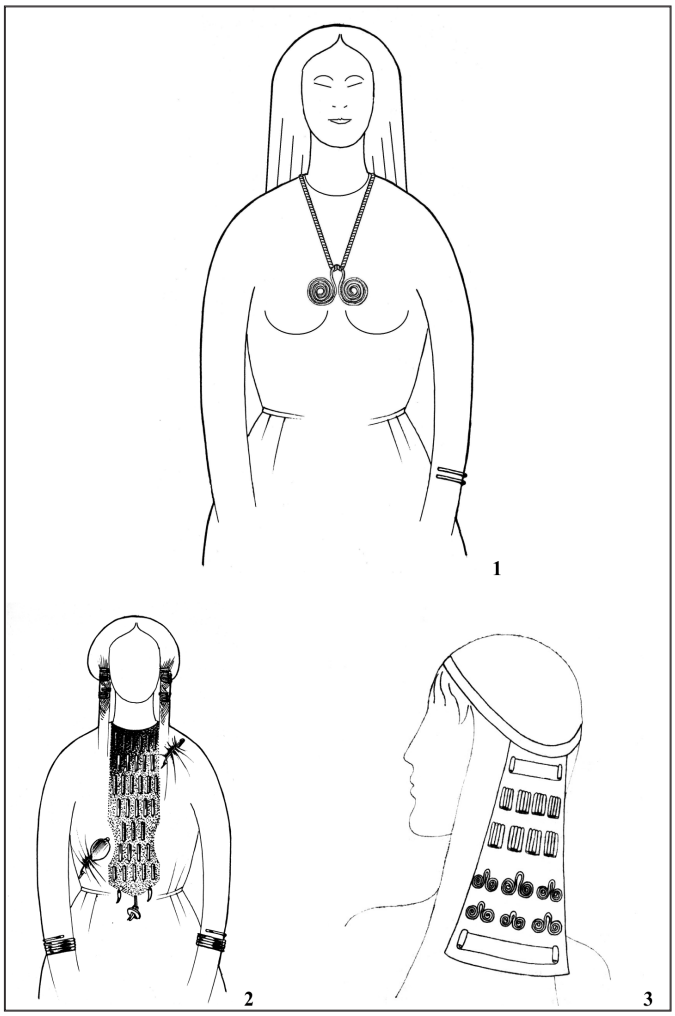

Pl. 7. Reconstruction of the way some European Early Bronze Age ornaments were worn based on the finds from burial 5 at Mada-*Chiciorele* (1), burial 4 at Oroszvár (2) and burial 140 from the Mokrin necropolis (3) (after C. I. Popa – 1; I. Bóna – 2; M. Girić – 3)

1) and another find at Sărata Monteoru[54]. This main area was intensely inhabited by the bearers of the Coțofeni culture and it is particularly rich in *tumular* burials. The item from the Mediaş museum collection has no clear provenance.

Another concentration of spectacle-shaped pendants, of a more recent date (Middle Bronze Age) is to be found at the Mureş - Tisza rivers confluence, as part of the Mureş culture; it is illustrated by finds at Beba Veche[55], Periam[56] and Pecica[57]. These pendants from the Romanian Banat are similar in association and type to those from Hungary, at Kulcs[58], Ócsa[59], Dunaújváros[60], Ercsi-Sinatelep[61], Homokszentlőrinc[62], Százhalombatta[63], Felsőnyék[64], Újharyán[65], Szőreg[66], Bölcske-Szentandráspuszta[67]. These point to another stage in the evolution of these pendants, at a later phase and distinct from the "Transylvanian" items from the Apuseni Mountains; this evolution relates to the existent cultural contexts in the Hungarian plains and on the middle Danube areas. The items found in the eastern and southern Romania, at Sărata Monteoru and Ploieşti respectively, corresponding to the BT III stage[68] can, most likely, be placed in between the "Transylvanian" type (that we dated in the BT II phase in Transylvania) and the western type from the Timiş area in western Romania.

Metallographic analysis on the three *Brillenspirale* pendants from the Poiana Aiudului-*Dealul Velii tumulus* cemetery indicate that arsenic copper was used, with values of 11 to 13 times higher than the average for stibium (antimony); high values for selenium, gold and silver were also found[69]. The pendant from Ampoița is also crafted from copper[70]. Lacking a metallographic analysis on the Mediaş museum item hinders us to identify if it was made of copper, or bronze. From Mada metallographic analysis was performed only on the bracelets that were associated to the spectacle-shaped pendant; they have 92 and 94 % concentrations of copper respectively[71]; it is possible that the pendant was also made of a similar copper concentration, as the bracelets. The pendant from Ploieşti even though was initially mentioned as a bronze piece[72], is in fact made of copper[73].

At least for the *tumular* burials from Transylvania, it seems that all the pendants were associated with the main central burial of such a funerary monument. This indicates that the items were clearly a symbol of social status for those buried.

We also emphasize an interesting aspect in the relation found between real artefacts and their representation. In the particular times and cultural evolutions that have produced the pendants, there are no pottery or plastic representations and vice-versa. In the Transylvanian area of the Coțofeni culture such artefacts are missing but in the final phase (III) we

[54] Matuschik 1996, 43.

[55] Bóna 1965, 23, 34 and pl. VIII/8; Soroceanu 1975, 42; Matuschik 1996, 42, no. 109 (5 pieces); Gogâltan 1999, 169 f. and fig. 32/2-3, 7-8.

[56] Popescu 1944, 58 and fig. 17/3-4; Soroceanu 1991, 113 and pl. 60 A/2; Matuschik 1996, 42, no. 110 (2 pieces); Gogâltan 1999, 169 f. and fig. 32/9-10.

[57] Soroceanu 1991, 89; Matuschik 1996, 42, no. 111; Gogâltan 1999, 169 f. and fig. 32/1, 4-6.

[58] Bóna 1975, 49 and pl. 14/6.

[59] Bóna 1975, 50 and fig. 6.

[60] Bóna 1975, 54 and fig. 9/5, pl. 27/27; Szathmári 1983, 21 and fig. 47/24-25; 49/1, 32-33; 52/2-3; 53/3 = pl. II/1-2; IV/5-6; V/12; VI/2; VII/2-3.

[61] Bándi 1965-1966, 12, 16 and pl. 1/1; V/1-3; XIV/2.

[62] Bóna 1975, pl. 21/1-2.

[63] Bóna 1975, 69 and fig. 14/6.

[64] Bóna 1975, pl. 26/23-24.

[65] Bóna 1975, pl. 33/6, 26; 35/14.

[66] Bándi 1966, 41 f.; Bóna 1975, pl. 122/9.

[66] Bóna 1975, pl. 26/7-8.

[68] Ciugudean 1986, 76; Roman *et al.* 1992, 105.

[69] Beşliu *et al*. 1992, 102, 105, 109 and fig. 10-13; see also Kadar 2007, 165, annex 9, no. 39-41.

[70] Ciugudean 1991, 94.

[71] Kadar 2007, 164, and annex 7, no. 63-64.

[72] Roman *et al.* 1992, 105.

[73] Matuschick 1996, 43.

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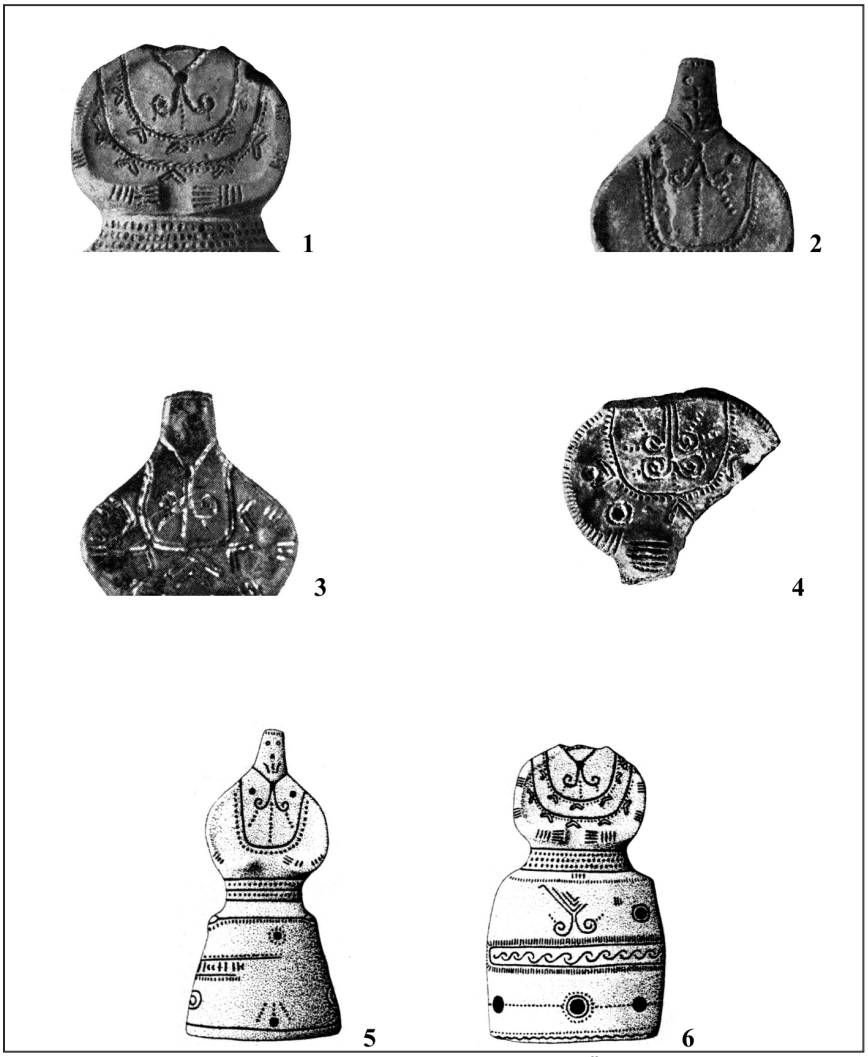
have numerous representations on pottery. A similar situation we have for the Wietenberg culture, also lacking such pendants[74], but with one representation on a vessel. The same things happen in the area of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare culture, where no artefacts have been found, but some anthropomorphic statuettes are depicted wearing such pendants, around the neck. For the same large area, in the Early Bronze Age there are such artefacts but no pottery representations.



Pl. 8. Representations of spectacle-shaped pendants on Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare culture anthropomorphic statuettes from the Cârna necropolis (Romania) (1-4, 5-6) (after Vl. Dumitrescu – 1-4; H. Müller-Karpe -5-6).

A catalogue for spectacle-shaped pendants from Transylvania (Early Bronze Age)

1. Ampoița-*Peret* (Alba County).

a. A spectacle-shaped pendant was discovered in burial 2 from *tumulus* 3. It was accompanied by two copper saltaleoni pieces, that also preserved the string they were hung upon (Pl. 1/1).

b. Dating: Early Bronze Age (BT II).

c. Bibliography: Ciugudean 1986, 76 and fig. 6/5; Ciugudean 1989, 238; Ciugudean 1991, 85, 94 f. and fig. 20/2; Ciugudean 1995, 14 and fig. 6/12; Ciugudean 1996, 33, 119 and fig. 31/12; Andrițoiu 1993, 104 f. and Pl. II/2.

2. Livezile-*Dealul Sârbului* (Alba County).

a. A pendant was found in the inventory of a *tumular* burial (Pl. 3/1).

b. Dating: Early Bronze Age.

c. Bibliography: Fenichel 1891, 162 (drawing); Schroller 1933, pl. 28/10; Roska 1941, fig. 41/6; Roska 1942, 306; Ciugudean 1986, 76 and fig. 6/1; Ciugudean 1991, 95; Ciugudean 1995, fig. 9/7; Ciugudean 1996, 50, 119 and fig. 21/7; Matuschik 1996, 42, no 112; Takács, Vintilă 1999, 535; Gligor 2001, pl. I/7.

3. Mada-*Chiciorele* (Hunedoara County)

a. In the main burial (M 5) of the *tumulus* 3, a pendant was found, with organic traces of a twisted string upon whic the ornament was hung (Pl. 1/3; 3/3; 4/1-2).

b. Dating: Early Bronze Age.

c. Bibliography: Rișcuța *et al*. 2009, 267, 270, 277 and fig. 9/1-2; 19/1.

4. "Mediaş" (Sibiu County)

a. In the Mediaş museum collections a spectacle-shaped pendant was identified; no reference to the place of discovery is recorded, but it may have originated from a funerary context, somewhere in the vicinity of Mediaş (Pl. 2/2-3).

b. Dating: end of Early Bronze Age (BT III).

c. Unpublished.

5. Poiana Aiudului-*Dealul Velii* (Alba County)

a. Within the *tumular* necropolis that was excavated three such pendants were recovered; in burial 4 from *tumulus* 4 (*tumulus* IX/1978) the pendant was found in the chest area of the skeleton and was associated with two copper saltaleoni pieces (Pl. 1/2).

b. Dating: Early Bronze Age.

c. Bibliography: Soroceanu 1975, 35, refe-

[74] Baltag, Boroffka 1996, 389.

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rence 22; Vlassa *et al*. 1985-1986, 62 and pl. XI/3; Ciugudean 1986, 76; Vlassa *et al*. 1987, 117 and pl. IX/4; Ciugudean 1991, 94; Beşliu *et al*. 1992, 102, 105, 109 and fig. 10-13; Ciugudean 1995, 15 and fig. 7/2; Ciugudean 1996, 62, 119 and fig. 37/2; Matuschik 1996, 43, no. 113.

(Translated by Călin Şuteu)

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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BRONZE AGE FUNERAL DISCOVERIES IN CÂMPINA, PRAHOVA COUNTY–PRELIMINARY NOTES

ALIN FRÎNCULEASA, DAN LICHIARDOPOL †

Keywords: Câmpina, Bronze Age, burials, funerary ritual.

Abstract: In the following lines our goal has been to revaluate some recent archaeological discoveries. The unprecedented character of these discoveries, in terms of typology and geographical area, partially justifies their revaluation in this stage of our research. Taking into account the fact that the discoveries come from preventive archeological researches that covered a limited area, our notes have a preliminary character. In the year 2008, in Câmpina locality six burials dating since Bronze Age were discovered. As funerary rituals, both inhumation and cremation are present. The inhumated human remains were found in a flexed position. The inventory of these burials consisted of vessels and adornments made of bone or bronze. The discoveries from Câmpina, Prahova County, bring new information on the Bronze Age in an area where such discoveries are very little known, the respective area being only rarely approached by archaeological researches. The presence in the same necropolis of materials assigned to the Tei and Monteoru cultures could emphasize several situations, of which we note: cultural imports, two necropolises superposed in the same area, mixed communities. The future researches will be able to bring forth supplementary information, in order to clarify the situation. In this preliminary evaluation, we propose that these funerary discoveries should be placed, chronologically speaking, in the late phase of the Bronze Age.

Cuvinte-cheie: Câmpina, epoca bronzului, morminte, ritual de înmormântare.

Rezumat: În rândurile de mai jos, ne-am propus valorificarea unor descoperiri arheologice recente. Caracterul insolit al acestor descoperiri, atât tipologic, cât şi ca areal, justifică, în parte, valorificarea acestora, în acest stadiu al cercetării. Având în vedere că descoperirile provin din cercetări arheologice preventive, ce au acoperit o zonă restrânsă, nota noastră are un caracter preliminar. În anul 2009, au fost descoperite în localitatea Câmpina şase morminte din epoca bronzului. Ca rit de înmormântare sunt prezente atât inhumația cât şi incinerația. Înhumații sunt aşezați în poziție chircită. Inventarul mormintelor este alcătuit din vase, piese de podoabă, din os sau bronz. Descoperirile de la Câmpina, jud. Prahova, aduc noi informații asupra epocii bronzului într-o zonă în care astfel de descoperiri sunt foarte puțin cunoscute, arealul respectiv fiind rareori abordat prin cercetări arheologice. Apariția în cadrul aceleiaşi necropole a unor materiale atribuite culturilor Tei şi Monteoru, ar putea marca mai multe situații, printre care remarcăm: importuri culturale, două necropole ce se suprapun în acelaşi perimetru, comunități mixte. Cercetările viitoare vor putea aduce informații suplimentare pentru clarificarea situației. La o evaluare preliminară propunem plasarea cronologică a acestor descoperiri funerare în faza târzie a epocii bronzului.

In the following lines our goal is to revaluate some recent archeological discoveries. The unprecedented character of these discoveries, in terms of typology and geographical area, partially justifies their revaluation in this stage of our research. Taking into account the fact that the discoveries come from preventive archeological researches, which covered a limited area, our notes have a preliminary character. Though we have highlighted the fact that these discoveries come from researches with a preventive character, we are in a situation in which we have some fortuitous archaeological discoveries, the area not being previously marked as interesting from an archaeological viewpoint. As there are no forms for "*preventive authorization demand*", but only for "*preventive archaeological research*", we keep the latter formula just in order to respect some actual bureaucratic norms, more or less adapted to the real situation from the field.

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The parish of the "*Saint Nicholas*" Church from Câmpina, situated in the "*Slobozia*" neighborhood, is located on the high terrace in the right side of the Doftana River, about 250 m north from its confluence with the Prahova River. The geographic coordinates are: 45º 06' 37, 10" N-25º 45 07, 85" E. This area is characterized by hills and high terraces situated on both sides of the Prahova and Doftana rivers.

The respective parish is, in fact, a complex comprising two churches, a vicarage, a building that was initially a silo (and now is a kindergarten and office), an altar screen and a house for the elderly. The vicarage dates in the first half of the 19th century and the silo situated near this vicarage seems to date back since the 18th century. The vicarage was restored beginning with the year 1991. At the same time, during this period a new church was built, with the dedication day "*The Whitsunday*", designed by the architect Livia

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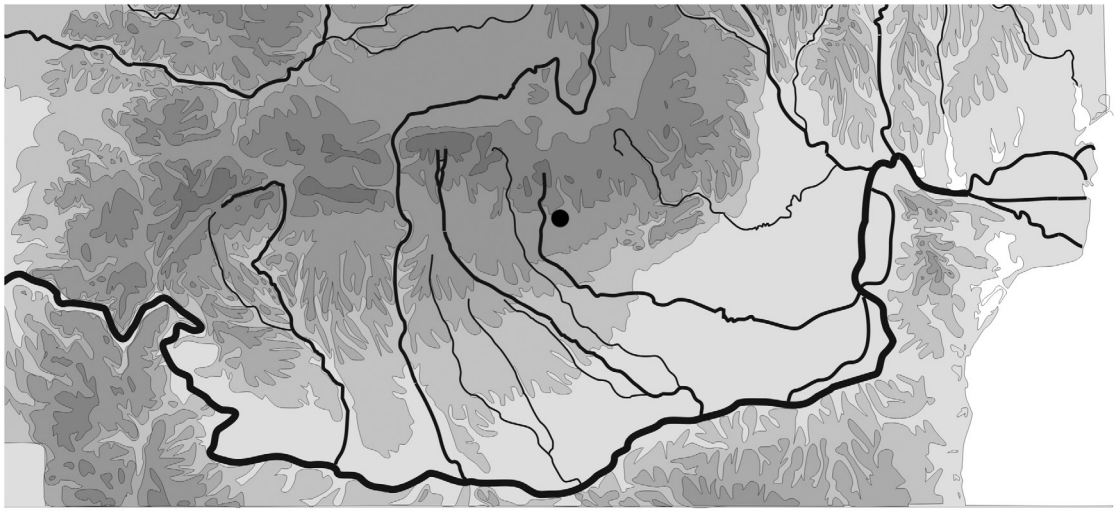

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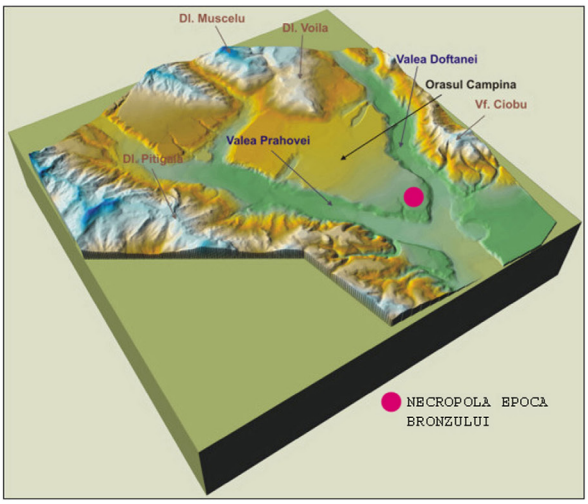

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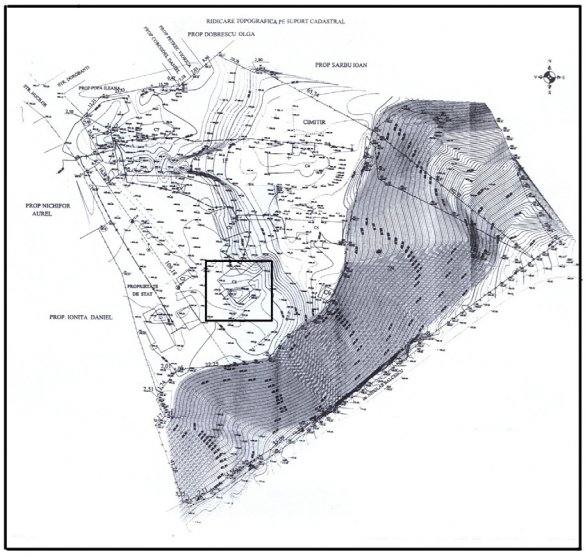

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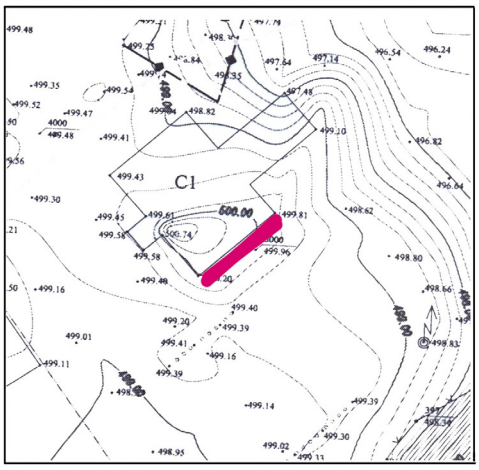

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Fig. 1. Câmpina – Position of the Bronze Age cemetery.

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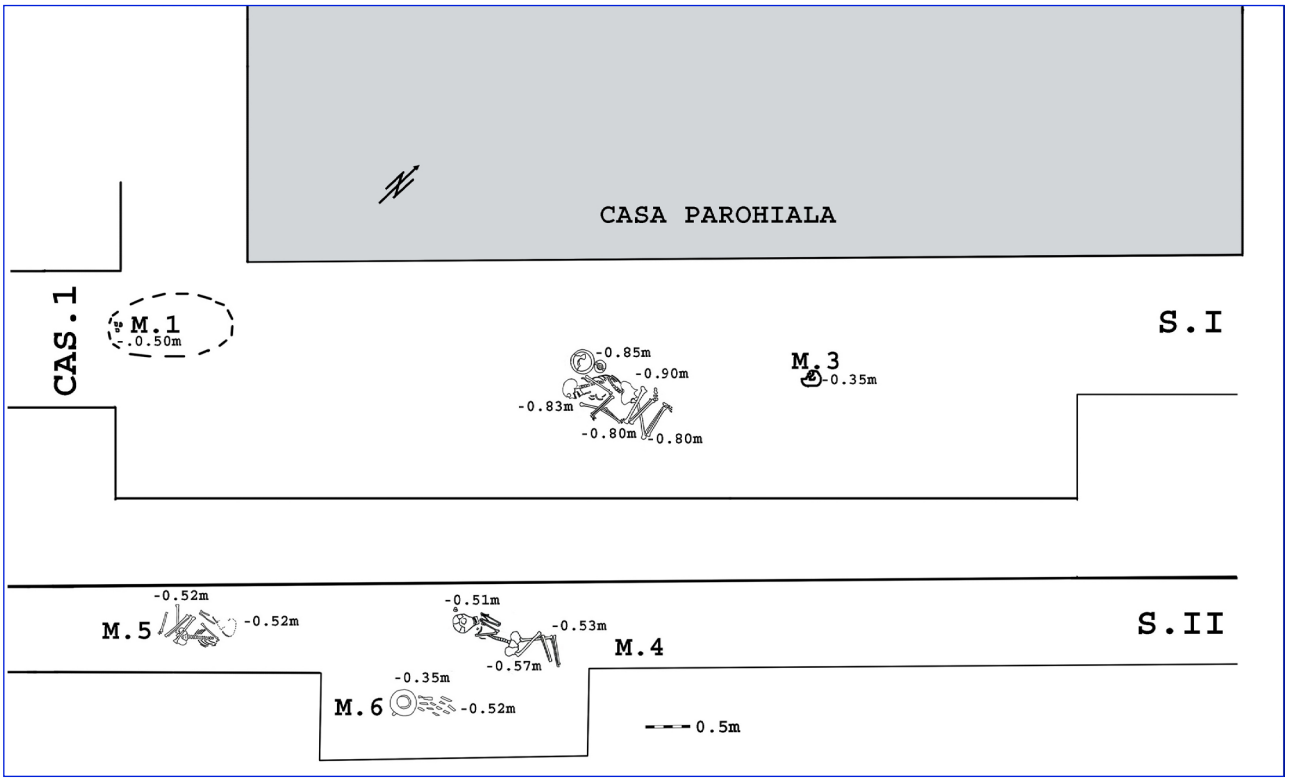

Fig. 2. Câmpina Bronze Age cemetery – general view.

Câlția[1].

The arrangement works related to the creation of a drainage system around the vicarage led to the discovery of some human bones, associated with ceramics. So, during the digging of a trench south-west of the respective building, three groups of human bones have been discovered; in two cases, the human bones were associated with ceramic fragments[2]. Going there, we noticed that the discovery consisted in human bones, in anatomic connection and clay vessels.

***

The stratigraphic information is somehow unclear at this stage of our research. Because of modern interventions, at the moment, in the area approached by our researches we do not have a clear situation by the anthropic or natural stratigraphic succession. We were able to notice that immediately underneath the vegetal layer there is a level of brown, clayish soil, 0.30 m thick. Under this level, begins a layer of gravel, mixed with sand, which is part of the present terrace of the Doftana River. The brown soil layer is thicker near the vicarage due to of some modern arrangements. These arrangements have covered the windows of the vicarage cellar. Actually, this is why M.2 appears to be situated much deeper than the other burials. During the 2008 arrangement works for the drainage system situated on the southern side of the vicarage, the earth that once covered the two cellar windows was taken away, too. All the burials appear immediately above the natural sand layer. We have noticed no traces of holes or other arrangements.

***

Initially, three burials have been "*discovered*", respectively M.1, M.2, M.3. After opening another ditch situated in parallel with the southern side of the vicarage, about 4 m away, three more burials have been discovered, which were conventionally called M.4, M.5, M.6.

Burial 1 (M.1) identified near the SW corner of the vicarage was destroyed by the workers. The area where bones appeared was systematically researched archaeologically. One more area was opened, yet no other bones or inventory items have been found. The bones come from a female adult[3].

Burial 2 (M.2) preserved *in situ*, slightly affected by the drainage works, was discovered on the SW side of the vicarage, about 1 m away from the NE wall. The actual stratigraphy is strongly affected by arrangements and leveling with gravel in the vicarage area. This inhumation burial, of a mature person, orientated 75º NE - 225º SW, appeared at a depth of 0.83-0.85 m immediately above a gravel layer. The skeleton was found flexed, facing downwards, on the right side, with the skull lying on the right side, and the sight turned eastwards. The upper limbs: the left one bent towards the thorax, with the cubitus and radius superposed on the right humerus; the right arm lying along the body; the lower limbs strongly bent on the right side, the left femur dislocated from the iliac; the backbone strongly curved, disturbed from its anatomical connection. In the head area, it seems to have been arranged on the edge a stone of about 25

[1] Ghenciulescu 2009, 112-119.

[2] Priest Petru Moga announced our institution on Thursday, June 26, 2008.

[3] The anthropological determinations were made by A. Soficaru from the "Fr. Rainer" Anthropology Institute from Bucharest; we thank him for his permission to use the respective information in this study.

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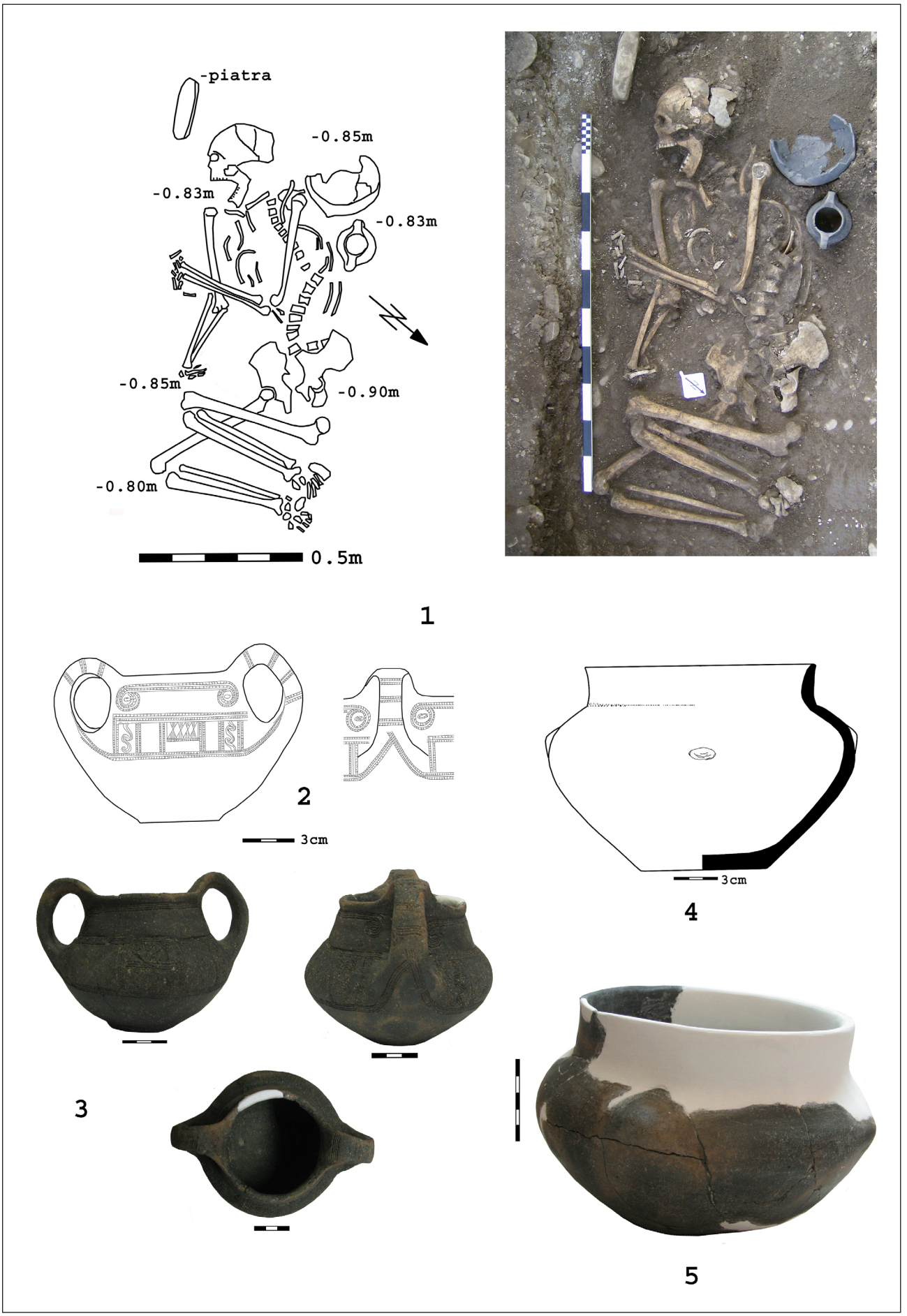

Fig. 3. Burial 2, inventory.

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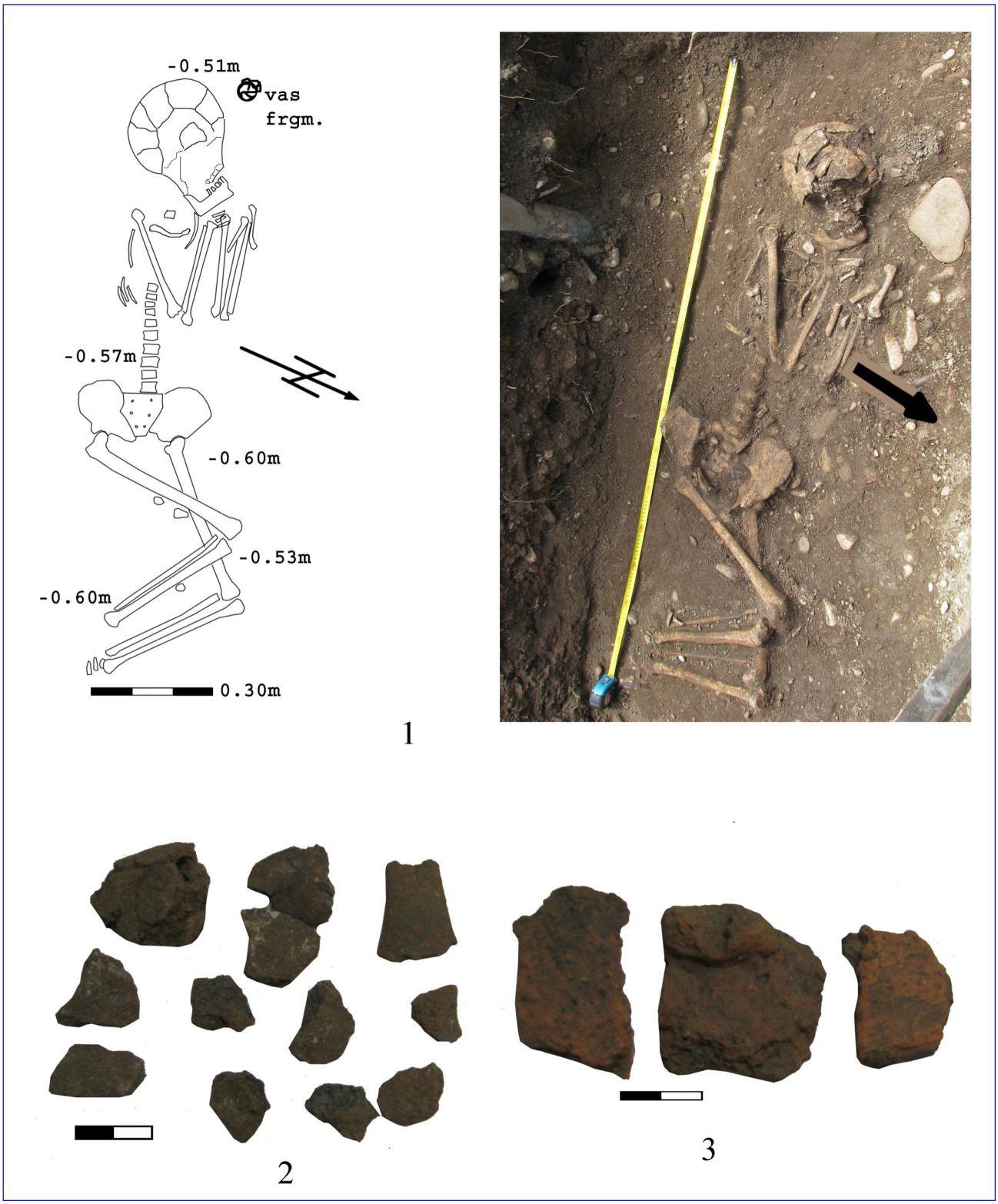

Fig. 4. Burial 4, general view, pottery.

cm in length.

The inventory of the burial consisted of two pots deposited at about 20 cm north from the skull. The *pot 1* (v. 1) is a little mug with high handles, made of coarse-grain sand paste, handmade, burnt, black-dark grey, with a rounded straight edge, and a short neck, shaped like a truncated cone, a strongly arched belly and a slightly marked, straight bottom. The pot is decorated with a horizontal band, comprising four lines of successive little dots, situated under the edge, which goes all the way to the handles' area and ends with spirals towards the two ends. The same decoration appears on the half situated on the other side of the handles as well. In the contact area between the neck and the belly there is another band comprising four lines of dots which stop in the area of the handles. Under the belly, angularly continuing on the handles, as well, there is another stripe consisting of four lines of successive dots. Between the two

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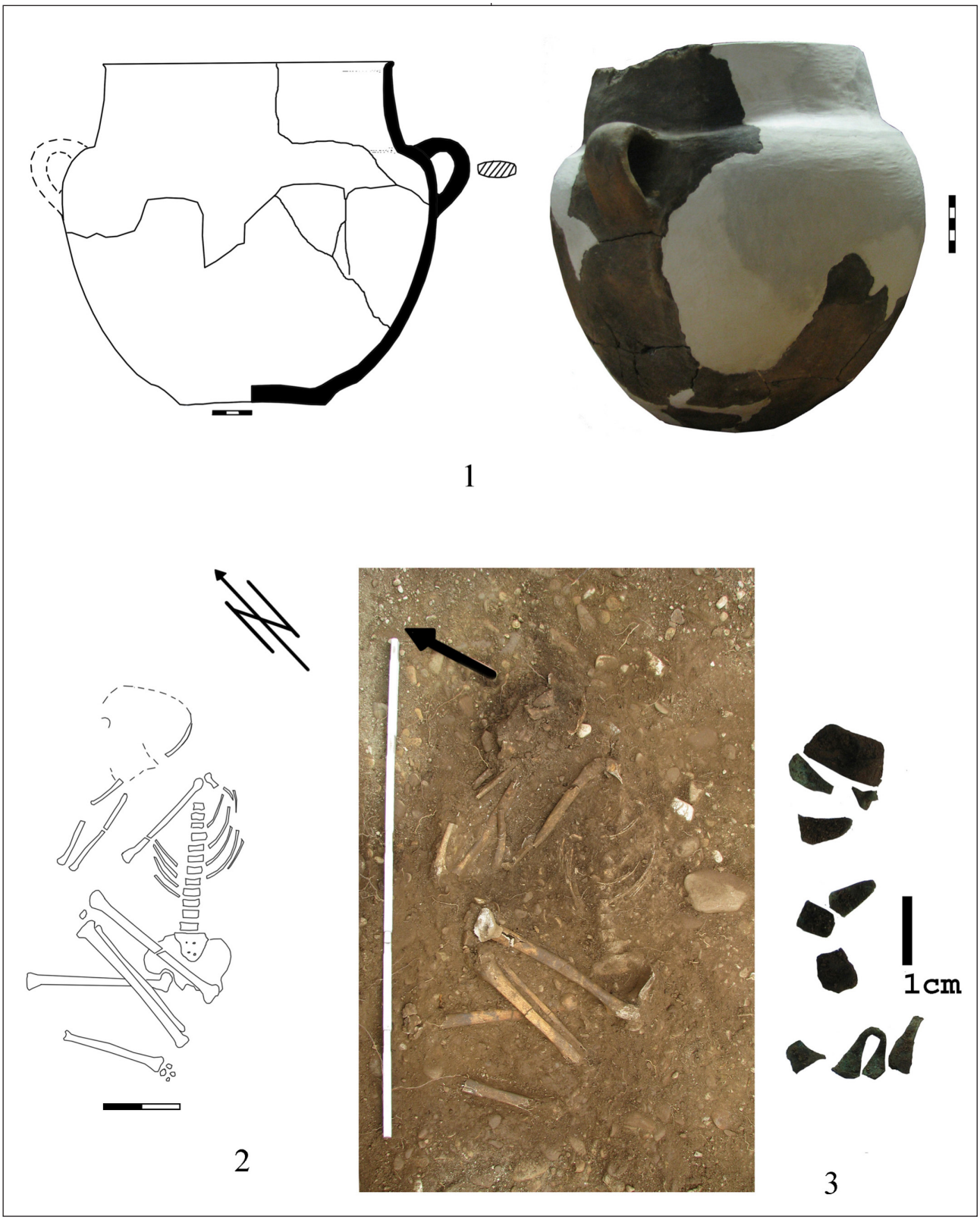

Fig. 5. Pot from Burial 5 (1), Burial 5 (2), bronze earring from Burial 5 (3).

bands of successive dots situated on the belly of the mug, at their ends, there is a "*frieze*" suggesting interconnected "*S*"-s and, in the middle, a decoration with hachured triangles. The decoration is symmetrical on the two parts of the belly, separated by the handles. The handles are decorated with transversal bands,by four series of successive dots, on their upper side (Fig. 3/2, 3). *Pot 2* (v. 2) is a handmade bowl made of fine-grain sand paste, burnt black-dark grey, with yellowish "*spots*". The rim is rounded, the mouth slightly widened, the neck is short, having the shape of a truncated cone, the belly is very arched, and two slightly marked buttons are situated symmetrically (preserved), the bottom being flat and marked (Fig. 3/4, 5). The vase is fragmented, destroyed by the drainage works carried out near the vicarage. Anthropologic determinations: male, age 35-40, height 1.66 m.

Burial 3 (M.3) was discovered 1.5 m east of

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Fig. 6. Burial 6, pot from Burial 6 (2, 4), bone pendant from Burial 6 (3).

M.2, at a depth of -0.30 m. A partially preserved vase slightly with a marked shoulder and a relatively high neck, having the shape of a truncated cone. Its color is brown-blackish (Fig. 5/1). The vase had preserved one of its handles, which connects the body of the vase with the neck. In the vase human bones have been discovered, some of them with cremation marks. Outside the vase, no bones *in situ* have been discovered. Anthropological determinations: the bones come from three individuals (two buried and one cremated). Just few bones come from the buried people; one of the buried people is a man, the second being unidentifiable. The bones from the cremated person come from a female individual, aged 35-40.

Burial 4 (M.4) was discovered about 2 m south of M.2. It is orientated NE-SW and it appears at a depth of about -0.50/0.57 m. It was a flexed buried individual, placed on the left side. The arms were bent and turned towards the chin. In the area of the frontal bone, a

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Fig. 7. Câmpina, St. Nicolae Parish.

partly preserved clay vessel was deposited, which seems to have been a cup. Its color is grey, the paste is friable, a better preserved little fragment is a part of a little handle, which was probably slightly higher than the cup (Fig. 4). Anthropological determinations: female, aged 25-30, height 1.53 m.

Burial 5 (M.5) appears 2.5 m west of M.4. The burial appeared at a depth of -0.50/0.52 m. It is an inhumation burial, the person inside is flexed on the right side, orientated SW-NE. The arms were bent, brought towards the chin, the legs were strongly flexed. The skeleton was less well preserved; it was gracile and seems to have belonged to a woman. In the area of the right mastoid was discovered an ornamental item, not well preserved, made of a bronze plaque (Fig. 5/3). Anthropological determinations: female, aged 40-45.

Burial 6 (M.6) was discovered about 1 m south of M.4. The burial was discovered at a depth of -0.50/0.52 m. This cremation burial was disturbed by a modern burial. Its inventory consists in a well preserved vase (Fig. 6/2, 4). The vase had a cylindrical foot and had the shape of a truncated cone. A handle was preserved, presenting a prominence. The vase is blackish, decorated on the neck and also on the lower part with incised "*belts*", dots and horizontal incisions. On its body, the vase was decorated with vertical grooves. Among the cremated bones, when

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they were passed through a sieve, a slightly curved, perforated bone pendant was discovered (Fig. 6/3). Bones were discovered both inside and outside the vessel. Anthropological determinations: female, aged 30-40.

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The incipient character of our investigation makes the research related to the chronological assignment to be approached in this lines with certain reluctance. The stratigraphic situation is not very clear, so far. The modern leveling, the subsequent arrangements nearby the vicarage, make the information related to the stratigraphy uncertain for the moment. Though just six burials have been discovered, different burial rites and rituals appeared and also an inventory specific to some distinct cultural manifestations.

The elements of cultural and, at the same time, chronological integration are represented by the burials inventory and also by the funerary rite and ritual. As funerary rites, there are present both cremation and inhumation. Burials 2, 4, 5 and 6 are the only ones about which we can start a discussion related to the ritual, both concerning the way the dead person was laid, and concerning the inventory. The information can be completed by the inventory discovered in M.3. We must draw the attention on the fact that the inhumation burials (M.2, M.4, M.5), in which the dead people were found flexed, have different orientations (Fig. 2).Tombs 3 and 6 are incineration tombs, and in the case of M.3 and M.6 ceramics was discovered near human incinerated bones, and in M.6 a piece of bone.

Tombs 2, 3, 4 and 6 have an inventory made up of pots, and in M.6 was also discovered an item made of bone. In M.5 was discovered a piece made of bronze-earing, situated in the area of the right mastoid. We must note the handle of the pot from M.6, which had a small prominence. This pot was decorated with incisions, dots and vertical grooves. The incised horizontal lines interpenetrated with their ends going one over the other and are specific to the late phase of the Monteoru culture. The pot decorated with dots found in M.2 is shaped like a *kantaros*, specific to the Fundeni phase of the Tei culture[4]. This pot shape also appears among the specific discoveries of the cultural group Fundenii Doamnei[5]. The pot found in M.3 has analogies with pots from the same last phase of Tei culture. In the filling of M.4 several small ceramic fragments of a brown-brick color have been found, one of them seemingly decorated with "*Besenstrich*", while two others have traces of a girdle made of cells. In M.4 and M.5 there have been found animal bones, probably coming from offerings. We must also note that all the pots discovered in these burials had traces of secondary burning.

The association of certain late Monteoru materials with the Tei IV-V materials was signaled in several sites of northern Muntenia, out of which we note Năieni-*Zănoaga*[6], Pietroasa Mică[7], but also Independența[8] and Şirna[9]. For this chronological period, though in a different areas, we also note the pot discovered in the necropolis of the Late Bronze Age from Zimnicea[10]. We should also note the ceramic fragment decorated with "*Besenstrich"* present in the filling of M.3 from Câmpina, at the feet of the dead person, which represents another hint for the late Monteoru horizon of these burials[11]. Valeriu Leahu highlighted the fact that this type of ornament is missing from the Tei-Fundenii Doamnei ensemble[12].

The researches carried out in time have revealed the cultural synchronism between Tei-Fundeni / Fundenii Doamnei-Monteoru IIa-b and partly the beginning of the Noua culture[13].

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Isolated Monteoru burials have been found in Prahova County at Tinosu[14] and possibly Budureasca and Breaza. Also, in Prahova County burials made of stone have been found at Budureasca[15], Pietricica[16], Homorâciu[17]. These burials were assigned to an early horizon of the Bronze Age[18], or to the early phase of the Monteoru culture[19]. Burials assigned to the late phase of Monteoru culture have been discovered in the area of the Subcarpathian Hills at Năieni-*Zănoaga*, Pietroasa Mică, Cârlomăneşti-*Arman*[20].

Relatively recent all the funeral discoveries of Tei type have been inventoried. It was noticed that these discoveries can be certainly assigned only to the last two phases of the Tei culture[21]. In Muntenia only isolated burials or groups of such complexes have been discovered. They cover especially the southern and central part of Muntenia, the discovery from Câmpina being so far the northernmost funerary find that could be assigned to this culture. Burials belonging to the Tei culture were identified at Chirnogi-*La Stejar*, Chirnogi-*Şuvița lui Ghițan*, Căscioarele-*D'aia Parte*, Sultana-*Malu Roşu*[22], Călăraşi County, Puieni, Giurgiu County, Sitaru, Ialomița County,

[4] Leahu 2003, fig. XLIV.

[5] Leahu 2003, fig. LXXIV/3, 6.

[6] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Şandor-Chicideanu 1999, 67.

[7] Leahu 2003, 201.

[8] Unpublished information, preventive research along the Bucureşti-Ploieşti road, 2007-2008, D. Lichiardopol, A. Frînculeasa, B. Ciupercă, N. Şerban.

[9] Unpublished information, researches of Şt. Olteanu, N. Grigore.

[10] Alexandrescu 1973, 87 and fig. X/6, XI/5.

[11] Motzoi-Chicideanu 2004, 72.

[12] Leahu 2003, 200.

[13] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Şandor-Chicideanu 1999, 62; Petrescu-Dâmboviţa 2001, 272; Leahu 2003, 197.

[14] Vulpe R., Vulpe E. 1924; Vulpe R. 1967.

[15] Teodorescu, Peneş 1984, fig. 10.

[16] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Constantinescu 2003, 231-232.

[17] Frînculeasa 2005.

[18] Schuster 1997.

[19] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000.

[20] Motzoi-Chicideanu 2004.

[21] Leahu 2003, 123.

[22] Unpublished information for which we thank Cătălin Lazăr.

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Ploieşti-*Triaj,* Prahova County[23]. All the burials are inhumation ones, their cultural belonging being certified by the typically decorated cups that appear in their inventory[24]. Problematic remains the assignement of certain burials discovered at Smeeni, Buzău County[25], or Baldovineşti, Brăila County[26] which seem to have belonged to another cultural horizons, but in whose inventory have been discovered pots that are specific for the Tei culture[27].

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The discoveries from Câmpina, Prahova County bring about new information on the Bronze Age in an area in which such finds are very little known, the respective area being only rarely approached by means of archeological researches. The appearance within the same necropolis of materials assigned to the Tei culture and to the Monteoru culture, could be explained by several situations, out of which we note: cultural imports, two necropolises overlapped in the same area, mixed communities. The future researches will be able to add further information, in order to clarify this situation. For a preliminary evaluation, we suggest that these funerary discoveries should be placed in the late phase of the Bronze Age. The future researches will be able to provide supplementary data, the preliminary character of these notes being determined by their restrained character and also by the expectation about new discoveries in the case of some new archeological diggings in this site.

APPENDIX. The Bronze Age – funerary discoveries in Prahova County[28]

Ariceştii-Rahtivani, "*Crângul lui Bot*", in the year 2005 a tumulus was investigated; three inhumation burials were discovered: the dead were placed in a flexed position; as inventory items we found lockrings, earrings, a necklace made of kaolin beads, a point made of flint, red ochre. The burials were attributed to the manifestations of Yamnaia type[29].

Blejoi, "*Mobel Auto*", in the year 2004 we investigated a tumulus; we discovered an inhumation burial, which had a circular ring around it, made of stone; the dead person was placed in a flexed position, facing downwards; its inventory was a pot and a tube-like piece of adornment made of a copper foil[30].

Homorâciu, "*Cariera de Humă*" from the boundary with the Malul Vânăt village, on the high western slope of the river Teleajen; hazard discovery since 1967, inhumation burial made of stone; its inventory was a clay mug, a spear point with medial rib, made of bronze. This archaeological complex was assigned to the funerary manifestations belonging to the Early Bronze Age[31].

Pietricica, "*La Mesteceni*", 2 km north from the village, on a peak of the hilly massif Bradu; researches Ion Motzoi-Chicideanu, Marius Constantinescu 2002; an inhumation burial was discovered, the skeleton was placed flexed on the left side, oriented W-NW; the burial had no inventory; the presence of some stones and of a lime slab seem to indicate a burial made of stone, dating from the Early Bronze Age[32].

Ploieşti-Triaj, "*Movila I*" and "*Movila II*": two funerary tumuli were investigated by Ion Nestor and Mircea Petrescu-Dîmboviţa during the years 1941-1944, in a preservation regime and they discovered inhumation burials, assigned to the manifestations of the Yamnaia type; as inventory pieces ceramic pots were discovered, but also ornamental pieces of hearring type[33].

Ploieşti, "*Triaj*", several inhumation burials discovered by hazard in the year 1964, being assigned by Victor Teodorescu to a final stage of the Tei culture[34].

Tinosu, "*Cetate*", on the high eastern terrace of the Prahova River; systematic archeological researches were carried out in 1923-1924, by R. Vulpe, E. Dunăreanu-Vulpe. In the Monteoru IIb level two pits discovered which, based on their typology and inventory were interpreted as being cremation burials[35].

Vadu Săpat, "*Budureasca-Puţul Tătarului*", several cremation burials have been discovered, in burials made of stone, or in simple pits. The inventory was represented by pottery. The burials seem to have belonged to a cremation necropolis assigned to the early stage of the Bronze Age. In this area was also investigated a pit where a whole askos pot was discovered, with three handles. The pit was covered with pieces of burnt adobe. No bones or ashes have been discovered. The askos pot can be assigned to the late phase of the Monteoru culture[36].

Notification: text edited in April 2009; between 2009-2011 50 more graves were excavated, and the situation quite evolved.

[23] Leahu 1966, 133-137; idem 2003, 123-128.

[24] Leahu 2003, 123-128.

[25] Simache, Teodorescu 1962, 279.

[26] Harţuche, Anastasiu 1965, 367.

[27] Leahu 1966; Leahu 2003, 126 f.

[28] In this appendix we have included also the burials from tumuli, belonging to a horizon that can be attributed chronologically to the time span between the end of the Eneolithic and the Early Bronze.

[29] Lichiardopol *et al.* 2006; Frînculeasa 2007.

[30] Lichiardopol *et al.* 2005; Paveleţ 2007.

[31] Teodorescu 1996, 240; Frînculeasa 2005.

[32] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Constantinescu 2003, 231-232.

[33] Nestor 1944; Comşa 1989.

[34] Leahu 2003, 23.

[35] Vulpe R., Vulpe E. 1924, 187-189 and figs. 18-19; Vulpe R. 1967; Motzoi-Chicideanu 2004, 57.

[36] Teodorescu 1974, 12 and fig. a; Teodorescu, Peneş 1984, 35, fig. 10.

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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ONCE AGAIN ON THE TROY'S THRACIAN ALLIES

MIHAIL ZAHARIADE

Keywords: Troy, Asia Minor, migration, war, Iliad, king, chieftain, Thracians, Mysians, Phrygians, Paeonians, Cicones.

Abstract: The issue of the Troy's allies produced a rich literature and a frenzy debate among the scholars. The most important Troy's allies during the ten years war between this powerful kingdom in the North-West of Asia Minor and the Achaeans were the Thracians. Homer mentions two categories of Thracians: the European and Asian Thracians living in the west of Asia Minor: Mysians and Phrygians which seems to have already migrated in the 13th century BC from Europe to these regions. The Dardanians, as inhabitants of the Troad, appear as the oldest emigrated group from the Balkan Peninsula. From the European Thracians in Iliad attested the *Paeonians*, the Cicones and 'Thracians' as a generic term for other Thracian groups are recorded. A significant number of Thracian kings or chieftains are also mentioned in the poem. The consistent military assistance offered by the Thracians to Troy was given on the ground of old agnation, but especially on common economic interests.

Cuvinte-cheie: Troia, Asia Minor, migratii, războI, Iliada, rege, căpetenie, Thraci, Mysi, Phrygieni, Peoni, Ciconi.

Rezumat: Problema aliaţilor Troiei a produs o bogată literatură şi o aprinsă dezbatere între specialişti. Cei mai importanţi aliaţi ai Troiei, din timpul războiului de zece ani, dintre acest puternic regat din nord-vestul Asiei Mici şi Acheeni, au fost Tracii. Homer menţionează două categorii de Traci: tracii Europeni şi tracii asiatici, din vestul Asiei Mici: Mysii şi Phrygii, cele mai importante grupuri care se pare că migraseră deja la nivelul secolului XIII a. Chr., din Europa în aceste regiuni. Dardanii, ca locuitori ai Troadei, par însă cel mai vechi grup emigrat din Peninsula Balcanică. Dintre Tracii europeni sunt menţionaţi în Iliada, *Paeonii*, *Ciconii* şi cu un termen generic 'Thracii'. În poem, sunt menţionaţi deasemenea, un număr apreciabil de şefi militari sau regi traci. Ajutorul consistent oferit de traci Troiei s-a facut în virtutea unor vechi relaţii atât de rudenie, cât mai ales din raţiuni economice.

In the Chant (Book) II of Iliad, known also as the Catalogue of the Ships (816-852) Homer enumerates the name of Troy's allies during the ten years war with the Achaeans. Intriguing and in the same time complex, the topic was approached quite a few times thus far[1], as Homer's historicity and the reliability of Iliad gains more and more credibility among the modern scholars[2].

Some combined Near Eastern study of Anatolian civilizations with the analysis of the results of archaeological excavations, epigraphic inquires, linguistic investigation, and reassessment of the ancient historical sources brought to light the likeliness of the existence of a true Hittite confederation which had authority both on Troy itself and other communities of Western Asia Minor. Certainly this innovative hypothesis launched in a broad discussion as far back as the early 20th century needs more new arguments, solid evidence, and judicious analysis, for this approach brings a quite novel, revolutionary historical perspective of the Late Bronze Age in the western regions of Asia Minor and on the Greek-Trojan-Hittite political relations[3].

It is far from my intention to get into the details of this absorbing debate. In what follows I will stress on another significant political component of the Trojan large scale coalition: the Troy's Thracian allies. Except the Achaeans and Trojans mentioned under more or less poetical forms, the Thracians, both those from western Asia Minor and from Europe have by far the most numerous records in the poem.

The main component of the Trojan coalition was the populations of western Asia Minor and its European allies, mainly, if not exclusively, the Thracians of the Balkan Peninsula. There have been a number of studies focusing on the composition of the Troy's allies with particular stress on the Thracians[4]. The Thracians (Θρήϊκας, Θρᾴκας) appear always as staunch allies of Troy. Apparently unproblematic to consider it as a good piece of evidence in its entirety, the information of the Homeric text becomes rather intricate and thorny when further consider the reference to the names of the kings, military leaders or chieftains. The difficulty comes when the historical evidence in Iliad, this 8th century BC epic poem attributed to Homer, construe on two chronological strata: on one hand the Trojan War (ca. 1194–1184 BC)[5], as described from a Bronze Age (13th century) tradition transmitted and taken over orally to the posterity, and on the other the poet's own times when the political and social Eastern Aegean and Micro-Asian scenery was almost entirely changed with an implicit impact on the world wide dissemination of an account about some 400 years old events. However, Homer seems to have taken over a strong genuine tradition about the events and kept it almost unaltered until it was edited in a written form from political reasons at the court of the Pisistratids in the 8th century BC[6].

The list of Troy's allies forwards facts which, at least partially, are supported historically, linguistically and archaeologically.

[1] Austin 1965; Alen 1969, *passim*; Crossett 1969, 241-245; Simpson, Lazenby 1970; Gindin 1990, 64-72; Lazova 1990, 149-152; Anderson, 1995, 181-191; Porozhanov 1995, 113-122; Visser 1997; Fol 2000, 101-107.

[2] Page 1959, 69-85; Luce 1975 *passim*; Latacz 2005, 56-78.

[3] Page 1959, 106; Gütterbock 1986, 33-44; Gindin 1990, 27; Wood 1998, 169-209.

[4] See note 1; see also Fol 1972, 44-45.

[5] The dates given by Eratosthenes, roughly corresponds with archaeological evidence of a catastrophic burning of *Troy VIIa*; Wood 1985, 116-118; Bloedow 1988, 23-52 (a rigorous analysis from an archaeological perspective); Burgess 2004; Strauss 2006, 49-97; Castledon 2006, 56-88; Rutter 2007, 104-118; Thompson 2007, 14-56.

[6] Simpson, Lazenby 1970, 158; Wood 1998, 123-144.

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I.Thracian military leaders and kings in Iliad

The list of the Thracians as allies of Troy opens with the mention of two leaders: *Acamas* and *Peirous.*

II 844-845: "[…] *Acamas and the warrior Peiroos commanded the Thracians and those that came from beyond the mighty stream of the Hellespont* […]" (αὐτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος ἥρως ὅσσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἐέργει). Homer gives no hint, as he does in other instances, of what region Acamas originates from, but it is certain that 'beyond Hellespont' (….) means Thrace in its purest sense[7].

V 461-462: "[…] *murderous Ares went about among the ranks of the Trojans, cheering them on, in the likeness of fleet Acamas chief of the Thracians* […]"(δὲ στίχας οὖλος Ἄρης ὄτρυνε μετελθὼν εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θοῷ ἡγήτορι Θρῃκῶν)**.**

VI 5-11: "[…] *First, Ajax son of Telamon, tower of strength to the Achaeans, broke a phalanx of the Trojans, and came to the assistance of his comrades by killing Acamas son of Eussorus, the best man among the Thracians, being both brave and of great stature* […]" (Αἴας δὲ πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα, φόως δ' ἑτάροισιν ἔθηκεν, ἄνδρα βαλὼν ὃς ἄριστος ἐνὶ Θρῄκεσσι τέτυκτο υἱὸν Ἠϋσσώρου Ἀκάμαντ' ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε).

ACAMAS. Ἀκάμας. Except these mentions in Iliad, the PN is apparently unique in the Thracian onomastics, in any event very old; the root might be indo-european: *akm*-stone, peak, rock from where the variation: *aka*-(PN Akaibrias); *ake*-(PN Akesamenos); *aki*-(Acidava); *akm*-(Acmonia)[8].

Acamas, son of Eussorus, portrayed as 'fast legged', seems to have been an important political and military personage for Homer insists several times on his personality. Ares, the god of war, even assumes the image of the Thracian king.

II 824: Another Acamas and his brother Archilochus "[…] *both skilled in all the arts of war* […]" sons of Antenor, a famous hero, appear involved in the events at Troy side by side with the Aeneas-led Dardanians (see below).

PEIROOS, son of Imbrasos, originated from Ainos, town on the Lower Hebros River on the southeastern coast of Thrace, modern day Emez (Turkey). The town had been previously known as Poltymbria. The tradition of Poltys as a mythical town was known to Strabon, (Ainos Poltymbria) (VII 6. 1) and later in the Scholiastic tradition (Steph. Byz. 52. 9). The place name contains the Thracian particle *bria* designating a town (βρία γὰρ τὴν φασὶ Θρᾷκες) (Steph. Byz 446. 15), possibly the centre of a Thracian kingdom to the mouths of the Hebrus River (Maritsa/Evros/Meric), the territory of the later Corpili, Sai, and Apsinthi[9]. It would be reasonable to identify this Peiroos with the one "beyond Hellespont", although some doubts have been expressed on this issue.

IV 519-537: Homer describes vividly how Peiroos defeated in combat the Greek warrior Diores: "[…] *Then fate fell upon Diores, son of Amarynceus, for he was struck by a jagged stone near the ancle of his right leg. He that hurled it was Peirous, son of Imbrasus, captain of the Thracians, who had come from Aenus* […]"(ἔνθ' Ἀμαρυγκείδην Διώρεα μοῖρα πέδησε: χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλῆτο παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκριόεντι κνήμην δεξιτερήν: βάλε δὲ Θρῃκῶν ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν Πείρως Ἰμβρασίδης ὃς ἄρ' Αἰνόθεν εἰληλούθει).

Shortly after this episode Peirous was killed in the same combat by Thoas from Aetolia. His body was defended by "[…] *his Thracian comrades, men who wear their hair in a tuft at the top of their heads* […]" (περίστησαν γὰρ ἑταῖροι Θρήϊκες ἀκρόκομοι δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες).

XX 484-485: A king or chieftain Peires is recorded, not directly involved in the war, but as the father of a Thracian chieftain, Rhigme "[…] *He (Achilles) then went in pursuit of Rhigmus, noble son of Peires, who had come from fertile Thrace* […]" (αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ ῥ' ἰέναι μετ' ἀμύμονα Πείρεω υἱὸν Ῥίγμον, ὃς ἐκ Θρῄκης ἐριβώλακος εἰληλούθει).

PEIROS. Πείροος and Πείρως; Thracian PN[10]. The name reappears slightly modified in Πυῤῥος (Lat. *Pyrrhus*, *Pyrrus*, *Pirus*) followed by an ethnonym in one case[11], or filliation. As a root, the particle *πυρ* forms different variants of names in Hellenistic and Ro-man onomastics[12]. The Iliad mentions, without other specification, two chieftains, *Peiros* (IV 519-537) and *Peires*. The names are almost similar, but in the absence of any other evidence from Homer, it would be preferable to treat them separately, as two different military chieftains, one who fought on the battlefield and the other who sent his son to help Troy.

RHIGMOS. Ῥίγμος. Name otherwise unknown in the Thracian onomastics.

XI 221-229. A Thracian contingent is recorded under the leadership of IPHIDAMAS, son of Antenor. He was "[…] *a man both brave and of great stature who was brought up in fertile Thrace, the mother of sheep* […]" (Ἰφιδάμας Ἀντηνορίδης ἠΰς τε μέγας τε ὃς τράφη ἐν Θρῄκῃ ἐριβώλακι μητέρι μήλων).

The name is certainly Greek and Homer makes this refined observation that he was not a

[7] Lazova 1990, 150; Porozhanov 1995, 117; Fol 2000, 103. Lazova supposes that the two Thracian kings, *Acamas* and *Peiroos* had their kingdoms on Lower Hebros.

[8] Russu 1967, 131; Dechev 1976, 10 f.

[9] Danov 1976, 117-118. On *Peiroos* and his place of origin see: Lazova 1990, 150; Porozhanov 1995, 118.

[10] Dechev 1976, 361-362; Vlahov 1976, 69.

[11] IG 2^2 8921: Πυῤῥιας Θρᾷξ.

[12] Dechev 1976, 385-387; Vlahov 1976, 39, 109.

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Thracian proper, but educated (τράφη) in Thrace. Homer's indication on the place in Thrace where he was brought up is too vague. The 'fertile Thrace' (ἐν Θρῄκῃ ἐριβώλακι) could well refer to the Thracian plain between Sredna Gora and Rhodopi Mountains where the existence of a kingdom at that time is suggested by fabulous archaeological discoveries[13]. He was raised by his grandfather Kisses, who very likely married a Greek woman who had a daughter called Theano, Iphidamas' mother. Antenor therefore was Kisses' son, Theano's husband and Iphidamas' father (XI 21). That this is so, it results clearly from the fact that Kisses married him with one of his daughter, certainly from a previous marriage, avoiding a family blood mixture[14].

Iphidamas had sailed from Thrace across the Hellespont with twelve ships, arrived at Percote where he left his small fleet and trod to Troy. In single combat he was killed by Agamemnon.

XI 248. COON (Κόων), was Antenor's eldest son and Iphidamas' brother. The name seems also Greek, but probably as an archaic variant (like in *Laocoon, Hipo-coon*) of the later well known PN Κόνων. It cannot be said whether he was already in Troy at that date, or came together with his brother from Thrace. He was also killed by Agamemnon.

II 858-861: "[…] Chromis, and Ennomus the augur, led the Mysians […]"(Μυσῶν δὲ Χρόμις ἦρχε καὶ Ἔννομος οἰωνιστής).

17. 213: "[…] Hector […] cheered them on […] Chromius and Ennomus the augur[…] (Ἕκτορι… ὄτρυνεν δὲ ἕκαστον ἐποιχόμενος ἐπέεσσι…τε Χρομίον τε καὶ Ἔννομον οἰωνιστήν).

CHROMIS cannot be identified among the Thracian PN. Some toxic springs Κίγχρωψιν κρήνης and κρήνην ἐν Χρωψὶ are recorded in Thrace by Theopompos (FGr.H 115 F 270 a, c) and Vitr. 8, 3, 15: […] *Chrobsi, Thracia lacus* […]. Any connection in the Thracian language between Chromis as PN and the place name in Thrace is hazardous, if not impossible. The name, though, could be eventually Lydian, a language of Hittite-Luwian origin[15] which would be acceptable in view of his command on the local Mysians[16]. The PN Chromis should be examined in the future, especially that the Hittites' alliance with Troy has been maintained on some solid evidence (see below).

II 846-847: "[…] Euphemos, son of Troezenus, the son of Keos, was the captain of the Ciconian spearsmen […]".

EUPHEMUS certainly was not a Thracian, by name. Εὔφημος, Εὐφημίος are Greek PN. His Greek origin is stressed by his filiation. He or his predecessors might well have been part of an Achaean elite established on the Ciconian coast and become later a local dynast due to successive local intermarriages[17].

II 848-850. "[…] *Pyraechmes led the Paeonian archers from distant Amydon, by the broad waters of the river Axius, the fairest that flow upon the earth* […]" (αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμης ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺ ῥέοντος, Ἀξιοῦ οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν).

XVI 287-288: "[…] *He (Patroclus) hit Pyraechmes who had led his Paeonian horsemen from the Amydon and the broad waters of the river Axios; the spear struck him on the right shoulder, and with a groan he fell backwards in the dust; on this his men were thrown into confusion, for by killing their leader, who was the finest soldier among them, Patroclus struck panic into them all* […]". (καὶ βάλε Πυραίχμην, ὃς Παίονας ἱπποκορυστὰς ἦγαγεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺ ῥέοντος: τὸν βάλε δεξιὸν ὦμον: ὃ δ' ὕπτιος ἐν κονίῃσι κάππεσεν οἰμώξας, ἔταροι δέ μιν ἀμφεφόβηθεν Παίονες).

The information is remarkably accurate, for the Paeonians inhabited the upper and middle course of the river and Amydon was a town on that river (modern Vardar).

PYRAECHMES. Πυραίχμης. The root πυρ-πυρις, -πυρις of which a wide range of PN is available to be formed is certainly Thracian[18].

XVII 70-74: "[…] *Mentès chief of the Cicons [...]"*(ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος Κικόνων ἡγήτορι Μέντῃ).

MENTES. Μέντης. Μέντις, Μένθης or other variants (Μενδῖς, Μενδις, Μενδηΐς etc) is a Thracian PN known also in hellenistic and Roman times[19].

II 862-863: "[…] *Phorcys, again, and noble Ascanius led the Phrygians from the far country of Ascania, and both were eager for the fray* […]" (Φόρκυς αὖ Φρύγας ἦγε καὶ Ἀσκάνιος θεοειδὴς τῆλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης: μέμασαν δ' ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι).

PHORCYS. Φόρκυς.There is no analogy of such a PN in the Thracian onomastics. It belongs rather to the Greek onomastics with the closest analogy in Φόρμις. The "far country of Ascania" (θεοειδὴς τῆλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης) in relation with Troy was situated in southern Phrygia, suggesting a region where a small, if not a leading Phrygian kingdom was already

[13] Fol 2000, 103.

[14] In general see: Katincharov 1989, 86-105.

[15] Watkins 1986, 45-62; Starke 1997, 447-487.

[16] Danov 1971, 271-277; 1976, 115-116; Porozhanov 1995, 118; it is worth noting that Herodotus (VII. 74) vows that the Lydians, the Carians, and the Mysians were brother tribes. Both Lydians and Carians spoke Luwian (Yakubovich 2010, 117-129), but Mysians, whose origin was traditionally placed on or near the Mount Olympus, from where they had been driven away by the Phrygians, seem to have absorbed considerable Lydian elements.

[17] Dechev 1976, 385 f.; Vlahov 1976, 39. On this king see: Lazova 1990, 151; Porozhanov 1995, 117; Jordanov 2000, 104.

[18] Dechev 1976, 385 f.; Vlahov 1976, 39; Lazova 1990, 151-152; Porozhanov 1995, 117.

[19] Dechev 1976, 294; Vlahov 1976, 38 f., 100, 117, 121; Porozhanov 1995, 117; Jordanov 2000, 104; on Homeric Ciciones see: Spiridonov 1990, 218-222.

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in existence at that time[20].

XXI 141-143; 157-160: "[…] *Meanwhile the son of Peleus, spear in hand, sprang upon Asteropaeus son of Pelegon to kill him. He was son to the broad Axios and Periboea eldest daughter of Acessamenus; for the river had lain with her* […]" (τόφρα δὲ Πηλέος υἱὸς ἔχων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος Ἀστεροπαίῳ ἐπᾶλτο κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων υἱεῖ Πηλεγόνος: τὸν δ' Ἀξιὸς εὐρυρέεθρος γείνατο καὶ Περίβοια Ἀκεσσαμενοῖο θυγατρῶν πρεσβυτάτη: τῇ γάρ ῥα μίγη ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης.

ASTEROPAEUS. Ἀστεροπαίος. The root *ast-* like ασται-, αστι-, αστης- is common in the Thracian onomastics[21]. As Homer states, the chieftain comes from Thrace, and was possibly the leader of a kingdom along the Axios (Maritsa) River, as the poet offers some hints on his noble origin. At least two important kingdoms on the Axios River who have afforded to send forces to Troy are represented in Iliad: one led by *Pyraechmes*, possibly centered on the town of Amydon, and another by *Asteropaeus*, possibly also along the course of the river.

X. 435-448: "[…**]** *There are the Thracians, who have lately come here and lie apart from the others at the far end of the camp; and they have Rhesus son of Eioneus for their king. His horses are the finest and strongest that I have ever seen, they are whiter than snow and fleeter than any wind that blows. His chariot is bedighting with silver and gold, and he has brought his marvellous golden armour, of the rarest workmanship- too splendid for any mortal man to carry, and meet only for the gods*[…]" (Θρήϊκες οἷδ' ἀπάνευθε νεήλυδες ἔσχατοι ἄλλων: ἐν δέ σφιν Ῥῆσος βασιλεὺς πάϊς Ἠϊονῆος. τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἠδὲ μεγίστους: λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι: ἅρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἤσκηται).

474-475: "[…] *Rhesus was sleeping in the middle, and hard by him his horses were made fast to the topmost rim of his chariot*[…]" (Ῥῆσος δ' ἐν μέσῳ εὗδε, παρ' αὐτῷ δ' ὠκέες ἵπποιἑξ ἐπιδιφριάδος πυμάτης ἰμᾶσι δέδεντο).

RHESOS, Ῥῆσος, with the variant: Ῥῆσσος. On his Thracian origin one cannot cast any doubts. The name fits perfectly in the Thracian lexical pattern[22]. Iliad does not provide his origin in Thrace. According to Euripides (*Rhes*. 279) Rhesos was the son of the son of the Strymon, a transparent allusion to the Strymon (Struma) River. "[…] *His country, Thrace: men call his father Strymon* […]" (Θρήκης: πατρὸς δὲ Στρυμόνος κικλήσκεται). That would be a good indication about the location of his kingdom. Rhesus is indeed a tragic figure. He must have arrived later (**X 434**) (Θρήϊκες οἷδ' ἀπάνευθε νεήλυδες ἔσχατοι ἄλλων) and brought a considerable cavalry force. The Thracian horses described by Dolon in front of Odysseos and Diomedes (**X 435-438**) must have represented a formidable military strength for Troy in the future operations against the Achaeans. Before even engaging his forces, Rhesos was assassinated by Odysseos in his own camp, while sleeping. Whether Rhesos was a contemporary king with the editing of the Book X and its interpolation, as has been vowed, from political reasons at the Pisistratids court or a real 13th century dynast allied to Troy, the tragedy dedicated by Euripides to the Thracian king mirrors the traditional presence of a significant Thracian military strength involved in the Trojan War.

II. Thracian warrior groups

Military chieftains or kings are recorded as leading important groups of warriors whose ethnonyms are specifically indicated. Apart from the generic designation as Thracians (Θρήϊκας) (*Il*. II 844) the following ethnic groups of Thracian stock or tinge, allied to Troy, are recorded in the Catalogue of the Ships:

II. 819-823: *Dardani* (Δάρδανοι), commanded by Aeneas, Archilochos and Acamas.

II. 858-861: **X. 430**: *Mysi* (Μυσοί), led by Chromis, Ennomus, and Hyrtios.

II. 862-863: III.181-190; X 431; *Phryges* (Φρύγας), led by Phorkis and Ascanios.

II. 849; XVI. 288; XXIII. 807: *Paeones* (Παίονος). The chieftain leading the warrior groups were Pyraechmenes and Asteropaeus (see above). Another warrior belonging to this group was "Euphorbus son of Panthous, a Dardanian, the best spearman of his time, as also the finest horseman and fleetest runner" (**XXI.141**).

II. 846-847; **XVII.73**: Cicones (Κικόνες) led by Euphemos and Mentes.

Troy could rely on a solid coalition which is labeled 'brave allies' (**XVII 14**) or 'illustrious allies' (**VI.111; XVII. 212; 221**).

In assessing the Troy's Thracian allies some thorny difficulties arise. As shown above the Homeric text of Iliad is built on different chronological stages based mainly on oral tradition, but the problem is how strong this tradition remained until the 8th century BC when the written variant seems to have acquired its final form[23]. Homer kept alive and, as long as possible, intact this strong tradition. Even so, Homer introduces in the account of the unfolding of the events place names and geographical locations of his own time. Thracians, on the other hand were a patent reality of his period when the Thracian- Hellenic contacts were in full swing and the Thracian world had surpassed the epoch of great migrations to Asia Minor of the 10th -8th centuries BC.

Mysi, Phryges, and Cicones were Thracian tribes. The migration of Mysi[24] towards South East

[20] Porozhanov 1995, 118.

[21] Dechev 1976, 32. On this king see: Porozhanov 1995, 119.

[22] Dechev 1976, 393, 395-397; Russu 1967, 117; Vlahov 1976, 41, 70 f. On Rhessos see: Dimitrov 1930, 1-9; Danov 1976, 181; Porozhanov 1995, 119.

[23] Dalby 2006, 129-133.

[24] On the Mysians and historical sources see: Dechev 1976, 306-310;

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of the Balkan Peninsula and beyond Hellespontus in North West Asia Minor was assigned by some researches to mid 2nd millennium BC. *Iliad* II 885, the earliest written source on the Thracian ethnic situation in Asia Minor places Mysi east of Aisepos (present day Ghinen-Çay), towards the future region of Bithynia. Although there is no topographic clue to localize the Homeric *Mysi* and their chieftains are not labeled as kings, they appear as a significant force on Troy's side, a sign that in the 13th century there was already a coalesced Mysian authority with its own identity. The Greek tradition knows another Mysian king, Euripylos, the son of the mythical Telephos, recorded in *Ilias parva* (Ἰλιὰς μικρά), a lost epic poem of the ancient "Trojan" cycle of which only thirty lines survived[25].

Il. III. 184-187 states that the king of Troy, Priamos had already been in Phrygia as an ally of the Phrygians against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius River (ἤδη καὶ Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν, ἔνθα ἴδον πλείστους Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπώλους λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μυγδόνος ἀντιθέοιο, οἵ ῥα τότ' ἐστρατόωντο παρ' ὄχθας Σαγγαρίοιο). The "people of Otreus and of Mygdon" are the Phrygians. Without getting into details here, it must be noted that, as some scholars believe[26], the passage encompasses a tradition which converted historical facts into legend, that is the memory of a conflict of considerable importance mentioned in the Annals of Tudhalia IV (1250-1220 BC) between the Hittites, often assimilated with the legendary Amazons and the '*Arzawa*' confederacy coalition. The latter seems to have comprised *Lukka* (Lycia), *Karakisa* (Caria), lands recorded also in the Tudhalia IV annals, the Phrygians (see the presence of Priam on the Sangarius River), Mysians and cities/regions among which two again rendered as *Wiluša* or *Wilušija* (=Ἴλιος, ϝίλιος=Ilion) and *Taruiša* (Τροίη, Τρώιη, Τρωϝσία)[27]. The record of *Wiluša* among the confederates means nothing in terms of a hostile attitude of Troy towards the Hittite state. It must be simply seen that Troy adhered to the confederation, without jeopardizing the 200 years old treaty with the Hittites. On the contrary, one of the Troy's ally were the *Keteioi* (Κήτειοι), recently considerd as Hittites in the ten years war with the Achaeans[28].

The Phrygians (*Phryges, Bryges*)[29] were, in all appearance, rather new immigrants from the Balkan Peninsula in Asia Minor around 1200 BC shortly before the Trojan War had broken However, they seems to have been part of the '*Arzawa'* coalition against the Achaeans.

The *Dardanians* were the inhabitants of the Troad, the territory of undisputable authority of Troy.

The extension of the Dardanian control to the East seems to have made some progress in the 13th century BC, for the river Aisepos was a Dardanian River, the home of the sons of Antenor, Archelochos and Acamas, who accompanied Aeneas, the chieftain of the Dardanians (see above). If a significant part of the Dardanians migrated from the western Balkan Peninsula to north western Asia Minor that must have happened in the Early Bronze Age, in circumstances which are difficult to reconstruct, sometime between 2500-2000 BC, when a first urban – like settlement at Troy replaced the initial modest habitation on the Sea girt promontory[30], a moment possibly corresponding to the legendary king Dardanos who traditionally had founded the city[31].

Paeones are often recorded in Iliad *Il.* XVII 350 and XXI 154-158 shows that their native region was well known to the Greek tradition, and particularly the main route of navigation through the country, the Axios River[32]. Their origin has been much debated. The common view, although not certain, is that the Paeones were a Phrygian-Moesian tribe. Homer knows the European Paeonians. Herodotus (V 13) included them definitely within the Thracian stock. The events related to the participation in Trojan war refers exclusively to the Balkan Paeones, west of the

Danov 1976, 115 f.; Papazoglu 1978, 391-437.

[25] Editions used: Davies 1988 (Greek text with English translation); West 2003. The PN *Telephos* sends to the Hittite *Telepinus*, *Talipinu* while Euripylos' brother, the Lydian *Tarkhon* suggests the Hittite-Luwian god of thunder *Tarhu* (Gindin 1990, 65). In both cases, the blood relation of Mysians and Lydians vowed by Herodotus (VII 74) seems to have a confirmation.

[26] Gindin 1990, 65 note 4 (with the bibliography).

[27] The military confrontation for western Asia Minor between the Hittite Empire, the Achaeans, and local kingdoms seems much earlier. The annals of Tudhalia I (ca. 1440-1410 BC) dated ca. 1420 BC record the defeat of a country called '*Arzawa*' which is commonly assimilated to the Greek Ασία, meaning in fact western Asia Minor. It roughly comprised the regions of Lydia and south of the area of Troad. There has been much speculation lately on the name of the Troy and Ilion on the list citing towns from the south to the north: *Taru*[ú]*ísa* corrected by some in *Taruiya* which allegedly could be Troy, and *Wilusa* or *Wilusija* (*Ilion, Ilium*) considered as Troad. There have been repeated conflicts between '*Arzawa*' confederation and the Hittite Empire, during which apparently *Wilusa* was not attacked by the Hittites, a fact considered as a kind of independence maintained by this kingdom in the political relationship with the Hittites (Wood 1998, 188). A "town of *Aššuwa*" is recorded in the Tudahlia I's annals in alliance with other twenty-two other places which formed the '*Arzawa*' coalition that opposed the Hittites (Wood 1998, 186-187). *Wilusa,* through its king *Alaksandus*, one of the four kings in the '*Arzawa*', but astonishingly characterized in the pact as an *Ahhijawa* (Achaean) king, concluded a separate treaty (ca. 1280) with the Hittite king Muwattalis (1296-1272 BC) whose text was preserved in a number of tablets found during the 1906-1907 excavations at the Hittite capital, Bogaz-köy; on the treaty see recently Gütterbock 1983, 133-138; Güterbock 1984, 114-122; 1986, 33-44 (with the bibliography); Wood 1998, 169-209; on the large and frenzy debate on the equation *Wilusija*-Ilion and *Tarusia*=Troy see also Gütterbock 1986, 39-41and Wood 1998, 186-188.

[28] Gindin 1990, 64-69. On a possible although speculative clash of interests between the Achaeans (Ahhiyawa) and the Hittite Empire over Wilusija-Taru(ú)iša=Ilium-Troy see Wood 1998, 188-205.

[29] Haas, 1966, 8-231; Danov 1976, 116 f.; Petrova 1997, 95-106.

[30] Korfmann 1986, 1-16.

[31] The Dardanians are considered by Georgiev (1966, 156) as being Daco-Mysians. That a migration from western Balkans in Asia Minor occurred very early is suggested by the possible presence of *Drdny* considered as *Dardani* among the allies of the Hittite king Muwatallis in the battle of Kadesh (1275 or 1274 BC). As Wood (1998, 188) noticed the record is roughly contemporary with the treaty between Wilusija and the Hittite king. On the European Dardanians see Papazoglu 1975, 131-270 who is inclined more towards an Illyrian origin of the Dardanians; on the Asian Dardanians: Autenrieth 1891 s. v. *Dardanoi*; Wilkes 1995, 145.

[32] On Paeones see: Katsarov 1921; Danov 1976, 117 f. and *passim*; Jordanov 2000, 107; on the historical sources see: Dechev 1976, 351-353; Lazova 1990, 151.

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Strymon River, for the Asian Paeones known also by Herodotus were the result of a massive deportation carried out by the Persians in the 5th century BC[33].

III. Some final observations

Iliad, as the main literary source for the 13th century events in North-West Asia Minor credits Thracians (Θρήκεσσι, Θρήϊκας) with a significant presence in the Trojan War, if not playing the most important part of its alliances. Except the recent theory of an extended Hittite authority over western Asia Minor, the modern research agrees in general that a coalition of kingdoms from eastern Balkan Peninsula and North-West Asia Minor existed prior to the outburst of the Trojan War. However, while the Trojan league had mostly economic reasons, around a powerful city, Troy, which controlled the trade and navigation through Hellespont, and maintained close economic relations with partners in the Balkans and western and southern Asia Minor, the Achaean coalition seems to have been coagulated ad hoc, quite temporarily on a war basis, without consistency even during combats[34]. Recently, scholars based on solid arguments, whose details go beyond our topic, suggest even a large scale clash of interests in North-West Asia Minor between the continental Achaeans and the Hittite Empire in its final stage, around Troy and the Straits[35].

There are two categories of ethnonyms of Thracian tinge involved in the unfolding of the events. Those which can be considered as belonging to the Asian Thracians: Dardanians, Mysians, and Phrygians and those identifiable with European Thracians of the Balkan Peninsula.

It is noticeable that the European Thracians remain a staunch ally of Troy, even if they came from far distances as it is case of the Paeonians, or Thracian groups living along the Axios or Strymon Rivers. It might be suggested, on this base, a common interest of Thracians and Trojans which must have functioned way before the Trojan War mainly in the economic field. The dynastic alliances through intermarriages were also a point of close friendship. Homer (*Il*. XIII 363-366) mentions a certain Thracian chieftain, *Othryoneos* from Cabessos, very likely a place name in Thrace, who had come shortly before the outbreak of the war to ask for Cassandra's hand from Priam and fell in battle "[…] *Idomeneus,* […] *slew Othryoneus from Cabesus, a sojourner, who had but lately come to take part in the war. He sought Cassandra the fairest of Priam's daughters in marriage, but offered no gifts of wooing, for he promised a great thing, to wit, that he would drive the sons of the Achaeans willy nilly from Troy; old King Priam had given his consent and promised her to him, whereon he fought on the strength of the promises thus made to him. Idomeneus aimed a spear, and hit him as he came striding on. His cuirass of bronze did not protect him, and the spear stuck in his belly, so that he fell heavily to the ground. Then Idomeneus vaunted over him saying, "Othryoneus, there is no one in the world whom I shall admire more than I do you, if you indeed perform what you have promised Priam son of Dardanus in return for his daughter. We too will make you an offer; we will give you the loveliest daughter of the son of Atreus, and will bring her from Argos for you to marry, if you will sack the goodly city of Ilius in company with ourselves; so come along with me, that we may make a covenant at the ships about the marriage, and we will not be hard upon you about gifts of wooing."* […].

The circulation of the Thracians across Hellespontus knew probably an unprecedented frequency during the ten years war. The ships transported considerable number of warriors, chariots, and horses, like those the king Rhessos came with. Iphidamas landed with 12 ships at Percote, a harbor of Troy, or very close to the city.

The existence of a Trojan-Thracian league seems very likely in the light of the Homeric text. The bulk of the Troy's allies were Asian and European Thracians, although the military assistance must have been much more diversified as avowed by Homer, *Il*. 803-804 through the message attributed to goddess Iris: "[…] *There are many allies dispersed about the city of Priam from distant places and speaking divers tongues* […]" (πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου ἐπίκουροι, ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων).

The Troy VII_a and VII_b pottery shows striking analogies until identity with the pottery found in Thrace proper. Some direct blood relationship lines between the Trojans and Thracians could be deduced[36] but has to be utterly demonstrated. It is true that the ancient sources speak of ethnic connections between Thrace and Troad and the Asian Dardanians who traditionally formed the basic population of Troad at the time of the Trojan War. They cannot be considered of other origin but a branch of the European Dardanians which could have emigrated much earlier in the Bronze age from their homeland on upper Axios River and settled apparently on the territory of future Troad. However, pottery, even similar to identity in its main features with that of Thrace, cannot be an argument for establishing blood relationships. We must recall on the other hand a fact ascertained by the modern linguists that the Trojan spoken language was the Luwian, doubtlessly an Indoeuropean language, but showing important lexical, phonetical, and glossary differences[37].

To conclude, in my opinion, the Thracian allies fought alongside Troy rather in the virtue of common economic interest, in defense of a common market and flourishing trade on either side of the Hellespontus, than an acknowledged kinship, it is true, but altered by almost a millennium of distant life.

[33] On this event see: Delev 2000, 49-53. An important stress on the early Paeonians as proto-Armenians is put by Gindin (1990, 69-71) who brings forth some literary and linguistic arguments.

[34] Wood 1998, 160 f.

[35] Wood 1996, 188-192.

[36] Katincharov 1989, 86; Porozhanov 1995, 121 f.

[37] See references 15 and 16.

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Repere cronologice pentru nivelurile de locuire getice timpurii de la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu” (com Oltina, jud. Constanţa)

NICULAE CONOVICI †, ANCA GANCIU, MIHAI IRIMIA †, VLAD V. ZIRRA

Keywords: ”Valea lui Voicu” Getic fortified settlement, early occupation levels, stamped amphorae, La Tène scheme fibulae, chronology.

Abstract: The archaeological field researches in 2000-2001 intercepted mainly the 8 and 9 levels of the Satu Nou – “Valea lui Voicu” fortified settlement. These levels represent the beginning of the Getic site habitation. In the present paper the most significant inhabitation remains and characteristic archaeological materials from the 8 and 9 levels are described and analysed. Among these there should be noticed numerous stamped amphorae fragments as well as four La Tène scheme fibulae. The chronological position of these artifacts is defined, according to the Hellenistic area production centres, in the previous decades of the middle 3rd century BC.

Cuvinte-cheie: aşezare getică fortificată „Valea lui Voicu”, niveluri de locuire timpurii, amfore ştampilate, fibule de schemă La Tène, cronologie.

Rezumat: Cercetările arheologice din anii 2000-2001 au interceptat mai cu seamă nivelurile 8 şi 9 ale aşezării fortificate de la Satu Nou, punctul „Valea lui Voicu”, care reprezintă începutul ocupării sitului de către geţi. În contribuţia de faţă sunt descrise şi analizate cele mai însemnate resturi de locuire şi materiale arheologice caracteristice ale nivelurilor respective. Între acestea se remarcă numeroase fragmente de amfore ştampilate, precum şi patru fibule de schemă La Tène a căror poziţie cronologică este clar delimitată de importurile din centrele de producţie din lumea greco-elenistică în deceniile anterioare mijlocului sec. III a. Chr.

Cadrul geografic

Aşezarea getică fortificată de la Satu Nou, com. Oltina, jud. Constanţa punctul „Valea lui Voicu”, este situată pe malul drept al Dunării, aproximativ la jumătatea distanţei dintre oraşele actuale Cernavodă şi Silistra (Fig. 1). Ea a fost amplasată pe un promontoriu, astăzi puternic erodat, având acum forma unui triunghi ascuţit cu vârful spre NNE, cu lungimea de cca. 300 m şi lăţimea maximă de cca. 100 m. Promontoriul se prezintă sub forma a două platouri în pantă, cu o diferenţă de nivel între ele de cca. 6 m. Torentele şi alunecările de teren au distrus în mare parte aşezarea, care avea ambele platouri fortificate de către locuitorii acelor vremuri în partea de sud, singura mai uşor accesibilă. Latura de nord-vest era reprezentată de malul aproape vertical al terasei dinspre Dunăre, iar latura de est era delimitată de cursul actualei „Văi a lui Voicu”, desigur mult mai puţin adâncă decât astăzi. Dacă această latură a fost sau nu fortificată, din cauza eroziunii evidente, rămâne greu de precizat. Platoul de sud era fortificat cu un val şi un şanţ de apărare. Valul se mai păstrează acum pe o înălţime maximă de cca. 3 m, dar cercetările arheologice au arătat că o mare parte a acestuia s-a dislocat prin eroziune, colmatând şanţul. Platoul de nord, cel mai intens locuit, a fost şi el fortificat în mai multe rânduri. Urme de locuire au fost sesizate şi la sud de fortificaţia exterioară. La cca. 250-300 m sud-vest de şanţul exterior, cercetările aero-fotografice (Fig. 3) au identificat existenţa unei grupări de opt tumuli, situate la sud de drumul vicinal care duce la „Valea lui Voicu”[7]. Alţi doi tumuli mai sunt astăzi vizibili la nord de acest drum, aproape de râpa înaltă dinspre Dunăre.

[7] Ştefan 1986, 13, 55, fig. 10.

Istoricul cercetărilor

Săpăturile arheologice sistematice la „Valea lui Voicu” au fost începute în 1982 de către Niculae Conovici şi Mihai Irimia şi au continuat până în 2003 (Fig. 2). Principalele rezultate ale cercetărilor arheologice efectuate au fost deja publicate[8], motiv pentru care, vom prezenta aici doar câteva date generale privind stratigrafia sitului.

Stratigrafie

Cele mai vechi niveluri de locuire aparţin primei epoci a fierului, cultura Babadag (fazele I – II şi II – III, respectiv nivelurile 12 şi 11). Urmează şapte niveluri de locuire (10-4) datate în sec. III a. Chr., în principal pe baza importurilor greceşti şi mai ales a ştampilelor pe amfore. La „Valea lui Voicu” au fost descoperite până în anul 2003, nu mai puţin de 577 ştampile amforice, precum şi o ştampilă pe o toartă de lagynos de Chios. În ordinea importanţei, aceste ştampile se repartizează astfel, după centrele de producţie: Sinope 313, Rhodos 123, Heracleea Pontica 116, Chersonesul Tauric 4, Thasos 4, Cos 2, Cnidos 1, grupul Myrsileias (Colchida) 1, grupul Parmesniskos (?) 1, 1 de Chios (toarta de lagynos), iar centre nedeterminate 14.

Ultimele trei niveluri (3-1) aparţin sec. I a. Chr., nivelul final putând fi încadrat cu aproximaţie în perioada lui Augustus, pe baza importurilor greceşti şi a anumitor categorii ceramice autohtone. Se constată existenţa unei întreruperi a locuirii în acest punct pe parcursul întregului secol II a. Chr. (cu aproximaţie),

[8] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 115-154; Conovici, Irimia 1990, 81-96; Conovici, Irimia 1991, 139-176; Conovici 1992, 3-14; Irimia, Conovici 1993, 51-114; Conovici, Irimia 1999, 196-211.

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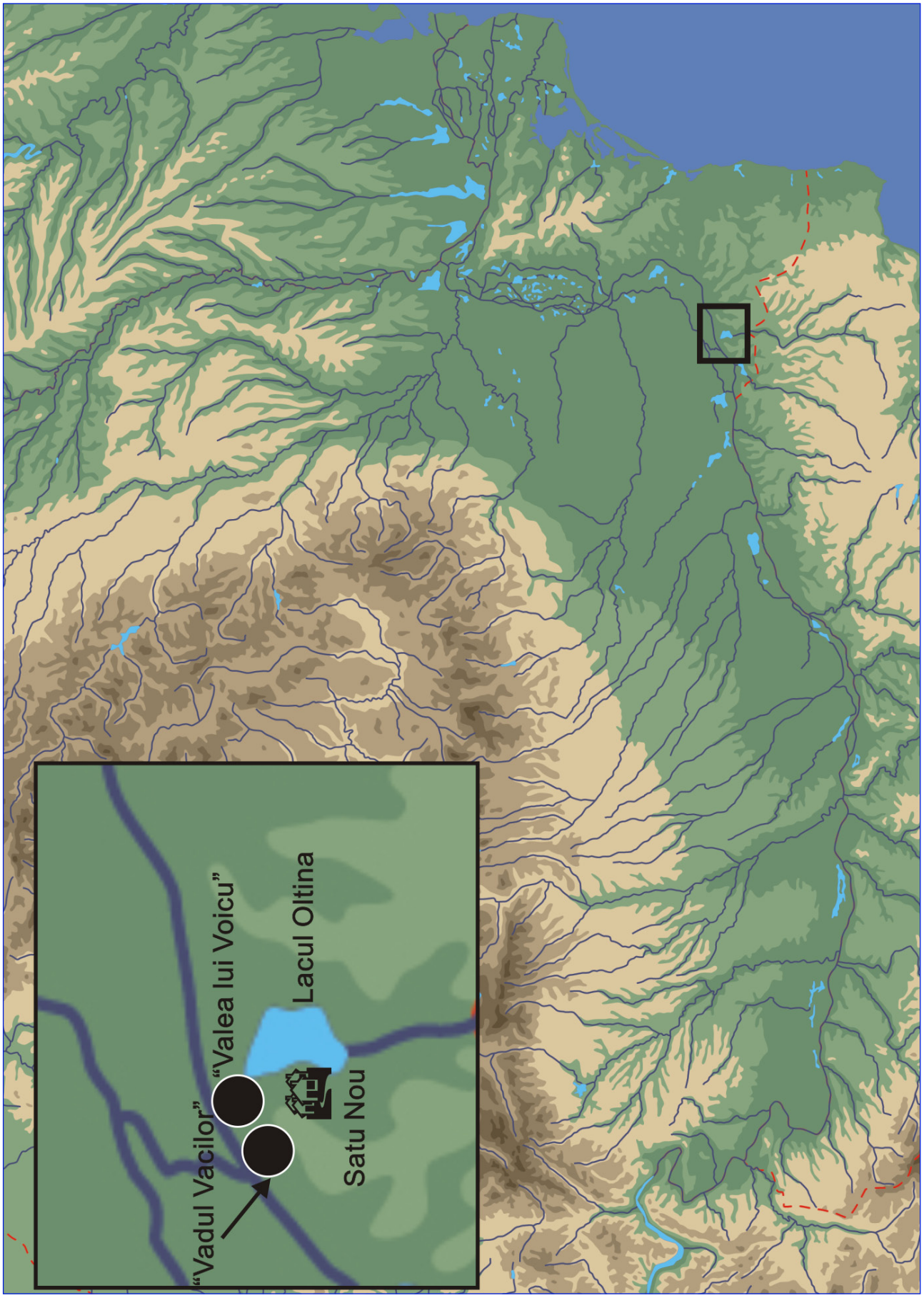

Fig. 1. Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu“.

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Fig. 2. Planul săpăturilor de la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu" după N. Conovici, M. Irimia, 1999.

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Fig. 3. Fotografie aeriană Satu Nou – “Valea lui Voicu“ după A. S. Ştefan, 1986.

eventual încă de la sfârşitul secolului precedent. Ştampilele amforice găsite pe plaja Dunării pledau pentru ipoteza că vatra de locuire a aşezării s-a mutat temporar cu cca. 800 m în amonte, în punctul numit „Vadu Vacilor”, unde se află o altă aşezare fortificată[9]. Rezultatele sondajului arheologic efectuat în campaniile 2003 şi 2005 au condus la concluzia că la „Vadu Vacilor” există o locuire sporadică, contemporană parţial cu cea de la „Valea lui Voicu”. Ştampilele amforice şi fragmente de kantharoi, descoperite în perimetrul acesteia din urmă datează îndeosebi de la sfârşitul a sec. III şi din sec II a. Chr[10].

Revenind la situl de la „Valea lui Voicu” trebuie să menţionăm că cele 12 niveluri de locuire au fost surprinse numai în suprafaţa cercetată în cadrul secţiunii magistrale (S. I) de pe platoul de nord. Pe al doilea platou, cel sudic, deşi urmele de locuire descoperite aparţin celor trei perioade (cultura Babadag, sec. III şi sec. I a. Chr.), stratigrafia este mult mai simplă, fără a permite diferenţierea pe niveluri atât de distincte. Cercetările efectuate în S. II, care a străbătut platoul de sud, de la nord către sud, incluzând şi sistemul defensiv, au interceptat 30 de gropi şi resturile a doar trei locuinţe. Stratul arheologic are aici o grosime variind între 0,50-1 m, faţă de peste 5,50 m în S. I.

Descrierea nivelurilor 8-9 (Fig. 5-7):

În anul 2000 au continuat cercetările în prelun-

[9] Conovici, Irimia 1991, 169-170. Sunt publicate ştampilele descoperite până în anul 1989.

[10] Conovici, Ganciu, Irimia, 2004, 290-292; Irimia, Ganciu, Dobrinescu, 2006, 311-313; Irimia, Conovici, Ganciu 2007, 99; Irimia 2009, 93-94; Irimia, Conovici, Ganciu 2011.

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Fig. 4. Zidul de incintă de la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu".

girea nordică a S. I de pe platoul principal (carourile 11N-23N), prin investigarea nivelurilor 8-9 şi parţial a două niveluri hallstattiene[11] (Fig. 5).

Stratigrafia în această zonă se prezintă după cum urmează: locuirea getică este în general despărţită de cea hallstattiană prin două straturi distincte. Cel inferior este format dintr-un *sol brun-vineţiu* de grosimi variabile, în care apar uneori pietre şi chiar câte o vatră. Deasupra lui a fost observat un *strat vineţiu pigmentat cu portocaliu* (uneori chiar straturi), în general steril arheologic, cu aspect aluvionar. În apropierea zidului de incintă (Fig. 4) acest strat avea la bază o depunere de pietre care ar putea proveni din scurgerile de pe panta dealului din perioada când zona era nelocuită. Acest strat a fost surprins pe toată lungimea săpăturii până în preajma zidului de incintă. În săpăturile anterioare campaniei din anul 2000, *stratul vineţiu* amintit acoperea două niveluri hallstattiene care umpleau o viroagă naturală orientată aproximativ nord-sud. În nivelul hallstattian superior au fost găsite complexe rituale care conţineau schelete de animale sau / şi schelete umane. Acest nivel este datat în fazele Babadag II – III, iar primul în fazele Babadag I – II. La vest de viroaga amintită, nivelurile hallstattiene nu au mai apărut, iar nivelurile getice 8 şi 9 erau practic absente.

Deasupra stratului pigmentat cu portocaliu apărea ceea ce autorii săpăturii au numit nivelul 9. El se prezenta în săpătură sub forma unor benzi discontinue, succesive, de lut gălbui cenuşos, alternând cu altele conţinând multă cenuşă, cărbune, pietre, rare fragmente ceramice getice şi greceşti şi oase de animale. În S. Ib-c, c. 11N au apărut şi două zone de formă circulară cu pământ ars, considerate „vetre neamenajate", aşezate într-o zonă cu pământ bine bătătorit. Nu s-au găsit complexe de locuire propriu-zise. Peste nivelul 9 se găsesc diferitele complexe de locuire ale nivelului 8.

Cercetările din anul 2001[12] au indicat existenţa în *stratul portocaliu* (de aspect aluvionar) a unei locuinţe getice cu vatră. Este vorba de locuinţa descoperită în S. Ia-b, c. 11N-14N cu două încăperi, una prevăzută cu o vatră mare, cu crustă (în S. Ib, c. 13N, tăiată de **Gr. 71**), cealaltă cu o vatră temporară (S. Ib, c. 11N). Cele două încăperi, surprinse bine în profilul martorului intermediar (desfiinţat ulterior) erau despărţite de un „prag" (probabil rest de perete), cu grosimea de cca. 0,90 m.

În carourile 15N-24N, nivelul de locuire getic nu a mai apărut în *stratul portocaliu*, ci doar la partea superioară a *stratului vineţiu*, în cadrul acestuia. El se prezenta sub forma unor depuneri masive de pietre de mărimi diferite, aşezate pe un strat de cenuşă. Printre acestea au fost găsite fragmente ceramice getice, elenistice şi hallstattiene, oase de animale şi umane, precum şi două vetre, una în S. Ic, c. 20N şi alta, fragmentară, în c. 23N (cercetate în anii 1999 şi 2000). Trebuie precizat, însă, că vatra din c. 20N se afla la un nivel superior aglomerării de pietre. Ca elemente de datare pentru acest nivel dispunem de câteva fragmente de amfore de Rhodos, Heracleea Pontica şi Sinope. O toartă de Sinope din acest nivel purta o ştampilă fragmentară, ilizibilă. Nivelului 9 îi mai pot fi atribuite două fibule de schemă La Tène:

[11] Conovi, Irimia, Ganciu 2001, 218-221.

[12] Conovici, Irimia, Ganciu 2002, 277-279.

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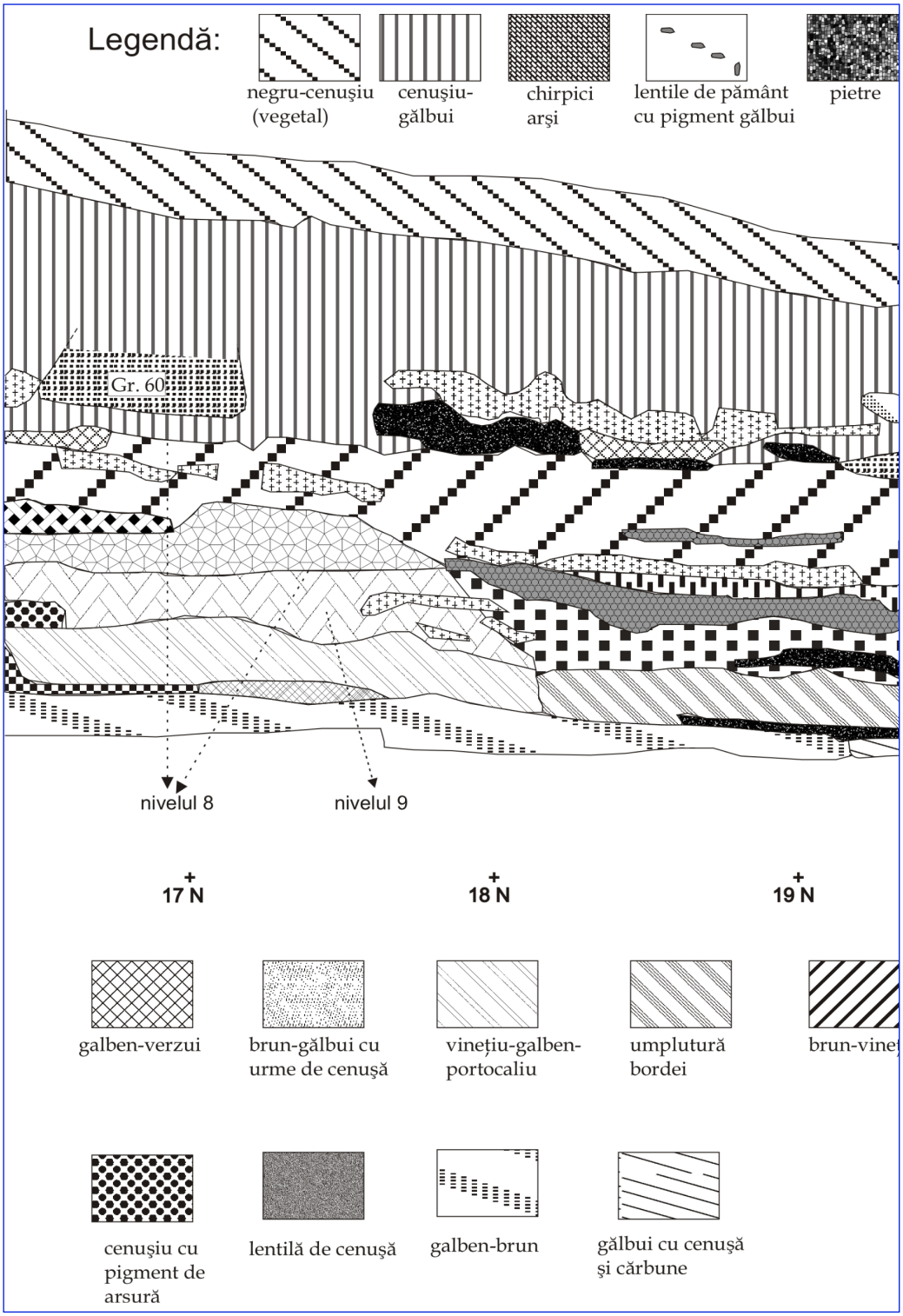

Fig. 5. Profil martor vest segment stânga S. I N.

prima, descoperită în S. Ia, c. 11N, lucrată din bronz, cu resort bilateral şi piciorul prevăzut cu un disc dinţat, este fragmentară şi puternic corodată (Fig. 18); cea de a doua fibulă, confecţionată din fier, parţial reconstituibilă, a fost găsită în S. Ic, c. 18N (Fig. 22). După opinia autorilor săpăturii, atât descoperirile din *stratul portocaliu*, cât şi cele din *stratul brun-vineţiu* aparţin primului nivel getic (nivelul 10). Vetrele amenajate din c. 20N şi c. 23N reprezintă, împreună cu locuinţa din c. 11N-14N şi cu **Gr. 92**, primele amenajări mai durabile ale locuirii getice. Frecvenţa relativ mare a fragmentelor ceramice hallstattiene se datorează deranjării stratului brun-vineţiu de către geţii care au reluat locuirea în cuprinsul aşezării. Diferenţa cronologică dintre nivelurile 10 şi 9 nu poate fi prea mare, ambele aparţinând începutului locuirii getice.

Nivelul 8 este în schimb mult mai bine documentat, pe toată lungimea săpăturii din S. I. În plus, el a oferit câteva elemente foarte importante pentru datare.

Gr. 72 (descoperită în 1999, în c. 13N). *Inventar:* numeroase oase provenite de la animale de talie mare, sparte sau tăiate (astragale de viţel); oase de animale de talie medie (oaie, porc, fragmente de craniu), oase de peşte (ştiucă) şi cărbune. *Inventarul ceramic*: fragmente de amfore de Heracleea Pontica,

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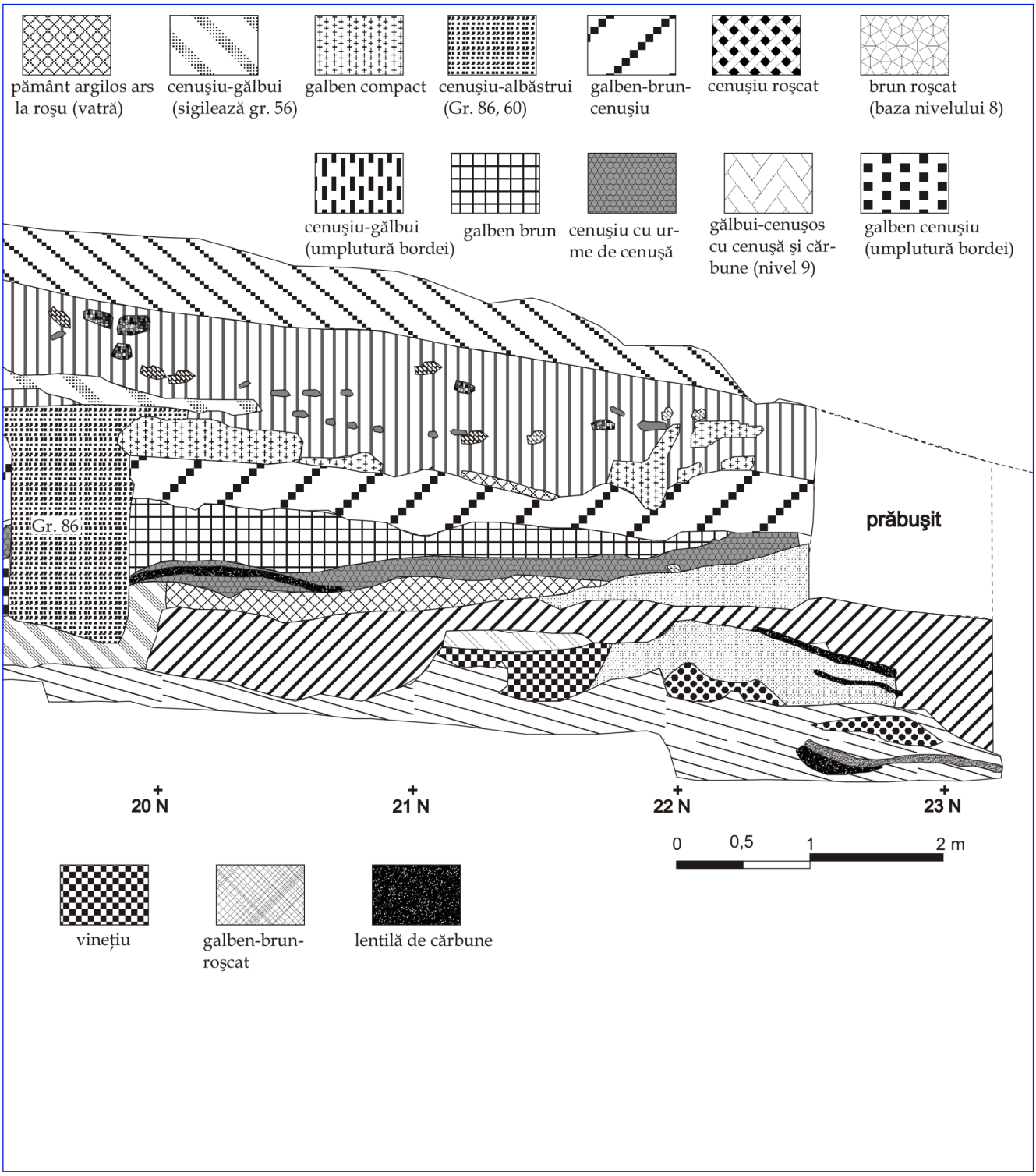

Fig. 5. profil martor vest, segment dreapta S. I N.

Sinope (toartă ştampilată, aparţinând astynomului *Demetrios 3 Heroxenou*, datată la sfârşitul grupei IVc (după Conovici 1998), străchini şi vase hallstattiene.

Un *cuptor* (cercetat în 1999 şi 2000) cu vatra aşezată pe un strat de pietre, deasupra unei depuneri de lut galben, adus special pentru amenajarea instalaţiei. Gura cuptorului era orientată spre nord, unde era tăiată de **Gr. 75** (probabil din nivelul 5). Înspre sud, peretele cuptorului era secţionat de **Gr. 76.** Spre nord şi est, cuptorul era înconjurat de o suprafaţă aproximativ rectangulară (l=cca. 3 m) cu resturi de lipitură arsă şi nearsă, numeroase pietre, cenuşă. Ele delimitează, probabil, o locuinţă de suprafaţă sau mai curând un spaţiu liber (pavat parţial spre nord şi est).

Gr. 76. *Inventar:* ceramică lucrată cu mâna, getică şi hallstattiană, fragmente de amfore de Sinope şi Rhodos, cenuşă, cărbune, lipitură de perete cu urme de nuiele şi un fragment mare de vatră, provenită probabil din dezafectarea cuptorului. În marginea de vest a gropii s-au găsit două funduri de vase de mari dimensiuni, lucrate cu mâna, lustruite la interior şi exterior. Aproximativ jumătate din groapă era acoperită cu un strat de lut galben dens, posibil un strat de nivelare sau resturi de lipitură nearsă, aparţinând nivelului 7. Nu este exlcus ca această groapă să aparţină tot nivelului 8, dintr-un moment

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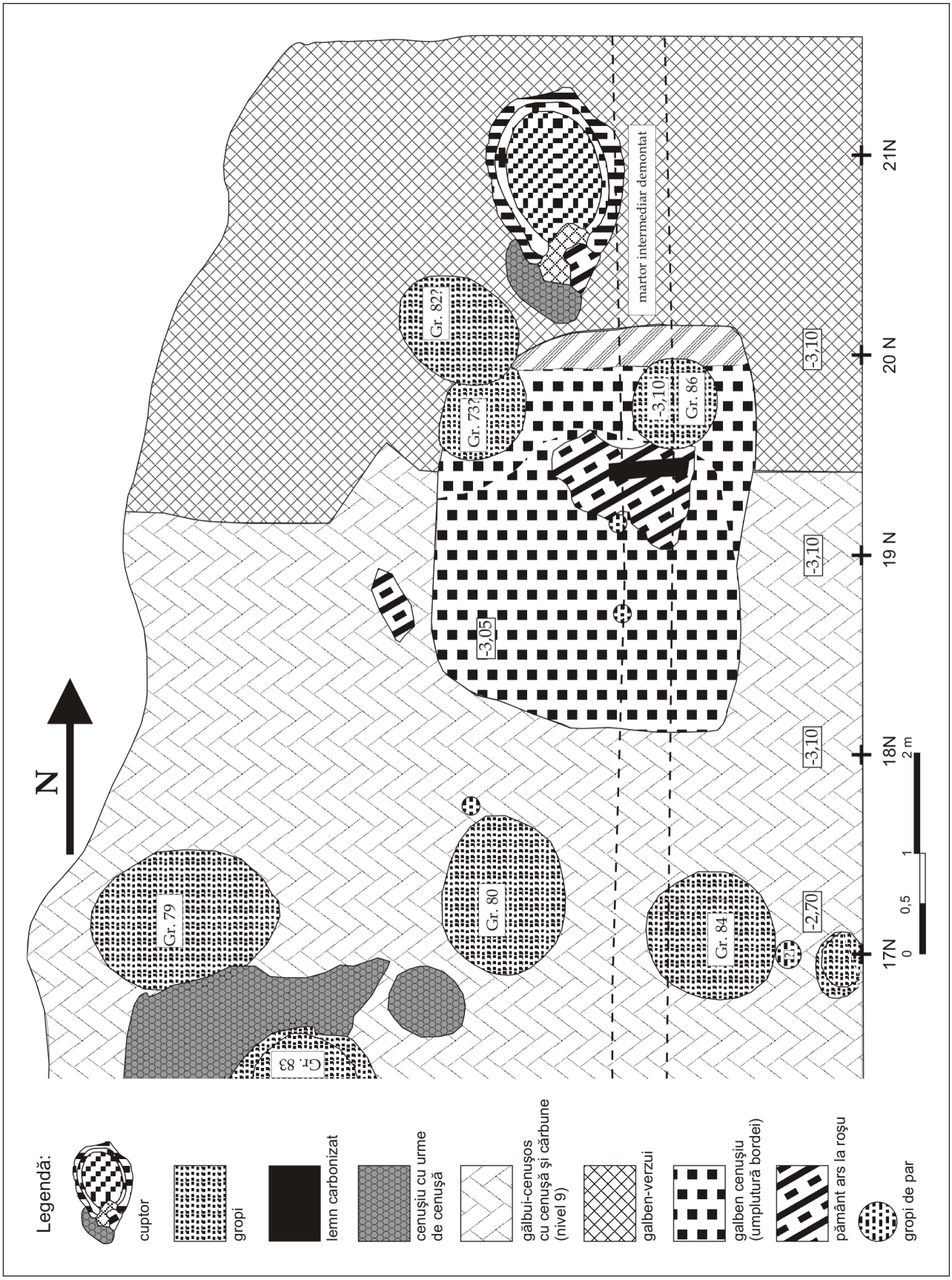

Fig. 6. Plan nivel 8.

ulterior dezafectării cuptorului.

Gr. 79, identificată în apropierea râpei, în c. 17N-18N, ar putea aparţine unei faze de refacere a nivelului 8. *Inventar:* fragmente de amfore (printre care un picior amforă de Heracleea Pontica), cană cu toartă cu proeminenţe şi impresiuni, un vârf de săgeată de bronz de tip scitic, o aplică semicirculară, obiect de fier şi mărgele de mici dimensiuni, din sticlă, lipite prin oxidare.

În 1999 în această zonă s-au găsit numeroase fragmente ceramice provenite de la mai multe vase: *askoi* pictaţi, *vas cu o toartă*, *lagynos,* fragment de

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Fig. 7.

cană cu incizie pe gât, în formă de „H" şi fragmente de *lupă de fier*.

Gr. 80, de formă cilindrică-ovală, cu adâncimea de 1,07 m, a apărut în S. Ib, c. 18N. *Inventar*: fragmente ceramice, oase de animale, pământ brun-negricios, cărbune şi cenuşă. În apropiere, spre nord, a putut fi delimitată o groapă de par, iar spre sud-vest o lentilă de cenuşă care suprapunea o albiere de dimensiuni mari, cu cenuşă, lut galben şi cărbune.

Gr. 81, a apărut în malul estic al săpăturii, în S. Ia, c. 14N-15N. A fost cercetată parţial. *Inventar:* oase de peşte, fragmente ceramice lucrate cu mâna, cărbune şi cenuşă.

Gr. 83, cercetată în S. Ic, c. 17N, de formă tronconică avea adâncimea de cca. 0,40 m de la nivelul de săpare. *Inventar:* cană lucrată cu mâna, întreagă, fragmente de vase lucrate cu mâna (vas clopot, castron, fragmente dintr-un castron lustruit, cu buza faţetată), cenuşă, fragmente de boltă de cuptor, fragmente de calotă de vatră sau lipitură arsă şi o fusaiolă discoidală.

Gr. 84, din S. Ia, c. 17N-18N, de formă tronconică intra parţial sub podeaua clădirii cu altar din nivelul 7. *Inventar:* strachină lucrată cu mâna, aproape întreagă, cu buza îngustă şi apucători, alte fragmente ceramice getice, fragmente de amfore de Sinope şi Heracleea Pontica, *femur uman* şi oase de animale.

În c. 19N-20N a fost cercetată o zonă cu dărâmătură arsă care acoperea o locuinţă semiadâncită. Zona amintită conţinea mult material arheologic: lipitură arsă, pietre, oase de animale şi numeroase fragmente ceramice locale şi greceşti, care nu se întregeau cu cele găsite în umplutura locuinţei. Dărâmătura era orientată aproximativ NE-SV, pe o lungime de circa 3 m şi cu lăţimea de circa 0,75 m. De acelaşi complex s-ar putea lega şi **Gr. 86**, de formă albiată, apărută în S. Ib, c. 20N. În partea superioară s-a descoperit ceramică fragmentară şi o ceaşcă întregibilă, oase de animale de talie mică şi de peşte, cărbune, cenuşă, lipitură arsă. Fragmentele ceramice provin de la amfore de Sinope şi Heracleea Pontica, vase borcan, două ceşti etc. O parte a gropii se afla pe o depunere cu pământ gălbui dens, aparent scurs dinspre sud şi care ar putea avea legătură cu dărâmăturile care acopereau bordeiul. Partea inferioară a gropii ar putea fi legată eventual de locuinţa din nivelul 8.

Deosebit de interesantă este locuinţa semiadâncită apărută în S. Ia-b, c. 19N-20N (Fig. 7). Ea era de formă aproape pătrată, cu latura de cca. 3 m şi se adâncea cu cca. 0,30 m. Umplutura locuinţei conţinea la partea superioară multă cenuşă şi lemn carbonizat, iar spre bază o cantitate foarte mare de fragmente ceramice, oase de animale şi alte materiale arheologice. Pe fundul ei se afla un strat gros de lemn carbonizat *in situ*, ceea ce a dus la arderea secundară a celorlalte resturi arheologice. În partea de nord era ars şi pământul de sub lemne, căpătând o culoare roşie. Aproximativ în centrul locuinţei a fost evidenţiată o groapă de par. Colţul de nord-vest al acestei construcţii a fost descoperit în 1999 şi a fost interpretat ca o groapă (**Gr. 73**). Nu au fost identificate resturi din podea. Din umplutura locuinţei au fost recuperate: şase amfore fragmentare de Heracleea Pontica cu ştampile şi una neştampilată, o amforă de Cnidos, câteva fragmente dintr-o amforă de Rhodos şi una de Sinope, un fragment de amforă de tipul Sinope cu *dipinto*; ceramică lucrată cu mâna, (vas mare decorat cu brâu alveolat în ghirlandă, vas borcan cu buton şi brâu alveolat, cană cu toartă supraînălţată şi proeminenţe, fund de vas de provizii lustruit; fragmente de buză de vas cu toartă şi proeminenţe); ceramică lucrată la roată, locală și de import (strachină

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cu fund inelar şi buza profilată, fragmente de *askoi*, *lagynos*, fish-plate); alte descoperiri: seceră (cosor?) de fier corodată, verigă din bronz; un fragment de buză de vas din sticlă (bol bitronconic?); fibulă de fier de schemă La Tène, întregibilă (Fig. 17); cinci fusaiole. Mai trebuie menţionate şi alte două ştampile amforice: una de Thasos, cu numele magistratului *Aischrion II* şi una de Sinope cu numele astynomului *Metrodoros I Aristagorou*. Ambele se datează destul de strâns, între cca. 265-255 a. Chr. Acest inventar deosebit de bogat oferă o asociere semnificativă de amfore ştampilate, ceramică locală, elenistică şi două fibule de schemă La Tène. A doua fibulă (Fig. 21) a fost descoperită în S. Ib, c. 18N, în marginea bordeiului, potrivit autorilor, ar putea aparţine şi nivelului 9. Poziţia stratigrafică a fibulei nu este asigurată. Studierea materialului arheologic provenit din complex (amfore şi fibula de schemă La Tène) poate servi în continuare ca reper cronologic pentru datarea altor complexe contemporane.

Peretele de nord al locuinţei era tăiat de **Gr. 86,** care aparţinea nivelului 7.

La cca. 1 m spre nord de locuinţă a fost cercetat un cuptor, cu gura orientată spre sud, având vatra amenajată pe un strat de pietre. Semnalăm faptul că acest cuptor se afla din punct de vedere stratigrafic sub un alt cuptor, aparţinând nivelurilor 5 sau 6 şi care era, la rândul său, secţionat parţial de o groapă din nivelul 3 (**Gr. 59**).

Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu”
Ştampile amforice din nivelurile 7 – 9 şi din bordeiul aflat în S. Ia – b, c. 19N – 20N

HERACLEEA PONTICA

1. Ἀριστο
κράτε[ος]

Ştampilă englifică pe gât, imprimată parţial. Al doilea şi al treilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr.

S. Ia; c. 2; bordei, nivelul 7. Nr. inv. 37817.

2. Ἀριστο
κράτεος

S. Ia; c. 4; -4,30 m, nivelul 7-8. Nr. inv. 37469. Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 141, cat. 22, fig. 1/20.

3. Ἀριστο
[κρ]άτεος

Gât fragmentar, ştampilă englifică, pe gât, aplicată vertical (4x1,3 cm), imprimată incomplet. Mai jos, pe gât, în apropierea rădăcinii torţii, *dipinto* cu vopsea roşie: A, Λ sau K. Literele rândului superior sunt mai mari decât ale celui inferior. Pe toartă, se păstrează un rest de ştampilă englifică cu cadru: H [...].

S. Ib; c. 19N; spre fundul bordeiului, nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 43331 (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8.

4. Ἀριστο
κράτεο[ς]

Gât fragmentar, ştampilă englifică, fără cadru, aplicată vertical pe gât, pe două rânduri (2,8x1,7 cm). Urme de vosea roşie, *dipinto* sub forma a două linii paralele verticale (una mai scurtă), una aplicată sub buză, în dreapta ştampilei, cealaltă între buză şi toartă. *S. Ib*; c. 16N; nivelul 7-8. Nr. inv. 43324 (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9.

5. [Ἀρισ]το
[κ]ράτεος

Ştampilă în relief cu cadru, pe gât.

S. Ic; c. 22N; nivelul 8-9. În stratul brun-cenuşos de deasupra solului viu. Nr. inv. 43160.

6. Ἀ[ρι]στο
κράτης

Amforă fragmentară, parţial întregită, lipsă piciorul. Dimensiuni: h=48 cm; d. max=24 cm; h. gât=19 cm; d. buză=7,8-9,8 cm; d. torţi=4,5x2,8 cm. Ştampilă englifică, aplicată vertical pe gât (3,3x1,4 cm).

S. *Ib*; c. 19 N; bordei, nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 43334 (Fig. 10).

7. [Ἀρ]ιστο
[κρά]τεος

Ştampilă englifică pe toartă. S-a găsit într-o groapă de par căptuşită cu pietre şi fragmente de

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Fig. 10.

amfore. *S. Ia*; c. 15N; nivelul 7-8. Nr. inv. 43167.

Producătorul Aristokrates este bine reprezentat în zona vest-pontică, cu ştampile aplicate atât pe gât, cât şi pe una dintre torţi, englific sau în relief (vezi Conovici, Lungu, 2007, p. 38, cat. 1, cu referiri la răspândirea producătorului Aristokrates în regiunea amintită şi bibliografia). La Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu", au apărut până acum numai variante cu numele producătorului scris pe două rânduri, ceea ce corespunde grupei a IV-a a amforelor heracleene. Pentru datarea mai târzie, cel puţin până în al treilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr., a amforelor heracleene cu nume de producător, indiferent de grupa tipologică din care fac parte, la Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 140-141, cat. 3-22. O încercare de periodizare a amforelor cu ştampila Aristokrates la Rădulescu, Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 1986, p. 41-42, cat. 21, 22, 29, pl. 48/4 şi bibliografia; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 140 şi notele 123-130 cu bibliografia mai nouă; cat. S 6-47. Cele 42 de exemplare cu acest nume descoperite la Albeşti ca şi numeroasele descoperiri din Dobrogea şi de pe litoralul bulgar, în patru variante de scriere, au permis autorilor amintiţi să formuleze ipoteza existenţei a cel puţin doi sau chiar trei omonimi, respectiv a unei tradiţii familiale preluate de generaţii succesive, sau a mai multor ateliere ale aceluiaşi producător – fapt mai puţin probabil (opinie diferită la Conovici, Irimia 1991, 140-141, care consideră că este vorba de un singur fabricant cu o activitate îndelungată). Modificările apărute în forma şi grafia ştampilelor aceloraşi fabricanţi s-ar datora (tot după Conovici, Irimia, *loc. cit.*), alternanţei gravorilor care au lucrat simultan pentru mai mulţi fabricanţi. Activitatea lui Ἀριστοκράτης se încadrează în al doilea şi al treilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr. (cf. şi Conovici, Irimia, *loc. cit.* cu bibliografia). Contextul arheologic de la „Valea lui Voicu" nu permite datarea variantelor cu Σ unghiular, la sfârşitul sec. IV a. Chr., ci doar mai târziu. În schimb, la Albeşti, disproporţia între numărul ştampilelor cu sigma barat (35) faţă de cele cu sigma lunar (5) a condus la ipoteza existenţei mai multor omonimi, a căror activitate, începută la sfârşitul sec. IV a. Chr., pare să fi continuat şi în al treilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr. (Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, 141). Contextul stratigrafic de la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu" confirmă, pe de altă parte aserţiunea autorilor cercetărilor de la Albeşti privind contemporaneitatea dintre perioadele de activitate ale producătorilor Ἀριστοκράτης, Νικόστρατος şi Φιλότιμος (Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 142). După noua cronologie a amforelor ştampilate de Heracleea Pontica propusă de Katz 2003, p. 261-278, toate ştampilele de amfore de tipul Heracleea Pontica de la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu" (inclusiv a producătorului amintit), aparţin perioadei III LFG (Late Fabricant Group), de la sfârşitul sec. IV- până la cca. 275 a. Chr.

8. Ἡρα (-)
Ştampilă englifică pe gât; numele este abreviat.
S. Ib; c. 11N; nivelul 8-9. Nr. inv. 43169.

Brashinskii 1980, cat. 485; Gramatopol, Poenaru Bordea 1969, cat. 826; Mirčev, Tončeva, Dimitrov 1963, cat. 13-14, pl. II/1-2 (întregire) Ἡρα[κλείδης]; Conovici, Irimia 1991, cat. 27-28; Buzoianu, Băr-bulescu 2008, p. 143, cat. S 143-147; cele două autoare consideră că ştampilele de acest tip, cu numele în formă prescurtată sau cu litere disparate (grupa V Brashinskii 1980), între care se înregistrează mai multe exemplare Ἡρα (...), prezente şi la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu", asigură o datare a lor în sec. III a. Chr. Pentru ştampilele englifice HRA (...) şi datarea lor la sfârşitul sec. IV sau în limita sec. IV-III a. Chr., vezi Monachov 1999, p. 446.

9. Ἡρακλ
ἑον[τος]
Ştampilă englifică pe gât, imprimată incomplet; descoperită în stratul cenuşos cu cărbune.
S. Ib; c. 23N; nivelul 8 (?). Nr. inv. 43325.

10. Ἡρακλ
ἑοντος
Ştampilă în relief, cu cadru şi linie la mijloc. Este aplicată pe gâtul amforei. Sigma lunar.
S. Ib; c. 4N; -5,50-5,70 m; nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 37827.

11. [Ἡρ]ακλέ
οντος
Se păstrează partea superioară a amforei. Ştampilă în relief aplicată oblic pe gât, cu cadru rectangular şi bară la mijloc; (2x1,6 cm); ştampilă ştearsă, Σ lunar.
S. Ib; c. 19 N; nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 43163 (Fig. 11).

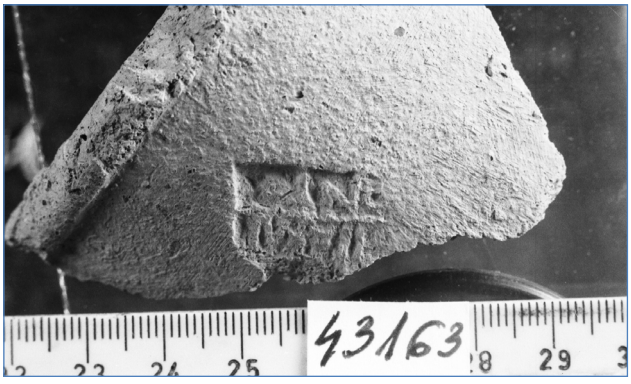

Fig. 11.

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Rădulescu, Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 1986, p. 33-60 şi cat. 34-35, pl. I/32, II/35; Gramatopol, Poenaru 1969, cat. 825, unde numele apare într-o ştampilă fără linie între cele două rânduri; Mirčev 1958, cat 289, pl. XXXVII/4 (dată cu centru de producţie necunoscut); Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 142, cat. 29-31; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, cat. S 62-63.

12. Μένη(ς)

Gât de amforă cu ştampilă englifică, cordiformă imprimată vertical (2,5x1,8 cm). Scriere retrogradă. Se poate reconstitui parţial partea superioară a amforei.

S. Ib; c. 20 N; la fundul bordeiului; nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 44693.

Nume frecvent atât în sudul Dobrogei, inclusiv pe litoralul bulgar, ca şi în interiorul regiunii. Canarache 1957, cat. 472; Gramatopol, Poenaru Bordea 1968, p. 59, cat. 80; Gramatopol, Poenaru Bordea 1969, cat. 834-838; Mirčev 1958, cat. 260; Irimia 1973, p. 33, nr. 10-11; Muşeţeanu, Conovici, Anastasiu 1978, p. 175; Rădulescu, Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 1968, p. 42 şi cat. 39-41, cu bibliografia; Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 142, nr. 34-35; Katz 2003, p. 277, nr. 21, perioada LFG, de la sfârşitul sec. IV-până în primul sfert al sec. III a. Chr.; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 141-142, cat. S 65-69; o ştampilă a producătorului Μένης s-a descoperit împreună cu o alta rhodiană (a eponimului Ἀγέστρατος).

13. Μένη(ς)

Ştampilă englifică aplicată pe gât. Descoperită în stratul brun-cenuşos de deasupra solului viu.

S. Ic; c. 22N, nivelul 10-9. Nr. inv. 43159.

Gramatopol, Poenaru 1969, cat. 834-838; Conovici, Irimia 1991, cat. 32, fig. 2/32; Katz 2003, p. 277, cat. 21; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, cat. S 65-69.

14. Σενι
ῶνος

Ştampilă englifică aplicată pe gâtul amforei (2x1,6 cm), N retrograd, ω inversat.

S. Ia, b; c. 19-20 N; nivelul 7, deasupra bordeiului. Nr. inv. 43328 (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12.

15. Σενι
ῶνος

Ştampilă englifică aplicată pe gâtul amforei (3x1,5 cm), N retrograd, ω inversat.

S. Ic-d; c. 20-21 N; nivelul 8-7; Nr. inv. 43326 (Fig. 13).

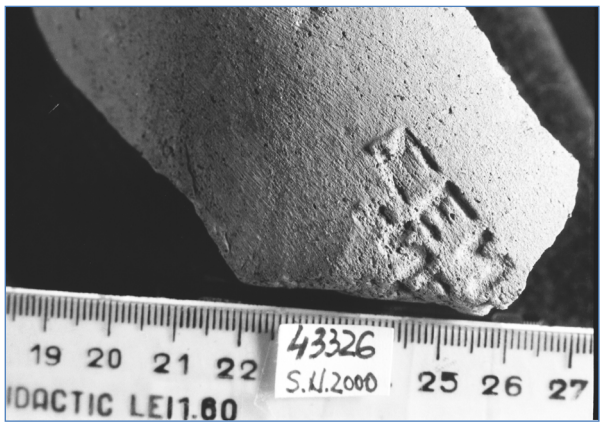

Fig. 13.

16. Σωκρά
τεος

Ştampilă în relief, cu cadru, aplicată pe toartă, litere mici. Prima jumătate a sec. III a. Chr.

S. Ia; c. 1; -4,55 m; nivelul 7-8. Nr. inv. 37478.

Mirčev 1958, cat. 214, pl. 24/2, cat. 264; Gramatopol, Poenaru 1969, variantă, cat. 862; Rădulescu, Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 1986, cat. 54-55; Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 143, cat. 49, fig. 2/49; Katz 2003, p. 277, cat. 29; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, cat. S 92-93.

SINOPE

17. [ἀστυνόμου] cap cu coroană, stânga
[Δημή]τρίου
[Αγαθ]ων

S. Ib; c. 11N, nivel 9-8. Nr. inv. 41173.

Gramatopol, Poenaru 1969, cat. 425-433 cu alţi producători; Conovici 1998, p. 39, 96, cat. 248-250, cu bibliografie. Garlan 2004, p. 173-174, cat. 282-289, Demetrios 3 (Heroxenou), Demetrios 3 Heroxenou+Agathon, cu simbolul amintit, aparţine subgrupei IVc. Potrivit lui Conovici 1989, p. 29-44, grupa a IV-a cuprinde 22-23 ani şi se datează între cca. 282-260 a. Chr., magistratul în discuţie fiind al 15-lea în lista cronologică a astynomilor din grupă. Garlan 2004, p. 173-174, cat. 282-289, subgrupa VB.

18. ἀστυνομου
Ἰκεσίου τοῦ
Βαχχίου proră
Ἡρακλείδης

S. Ia; c. 3; -4,45 m; nivel 7-8. Nr. inv. 37419.

Conovici, Irimia, 1991, p. 148, cat. 108, fig. 6/107; Conovici 1998, subgrupa Vb şi cat. 414-419, Ἰκέσίος 3 Βακχίου (proră), cu diferiţi producători şi bibliografia.

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19. άστυνόμου Nike în bigă, dreapta
Καλλισθένον
τοῦ Ἑστιαίου
Τέβης
Simbolul este plasat în cartuş distinct.
S. Ia, c. 6, nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37795.
Conovici, 1998, p. 48, 110, cat. 340-342, cu alt producător şi acelaşi simbol. Kallisthenes 2 Hestiaiou+Tebes II, cu simbolul Nike în bigă, subgrupa Va; Garlan 2004, p. 186, cat. 335, pl. XXXIII, subgrupa VIA. Pentru producătorul Tebes II, Garlan 2004, p. 74, F 69.

20. [άστυνόμου] Nike în bigă
[Καλλισθένου]
[τοῦ Εστιαίου]
[.....]
Întregire după simbol, ştampilă ştearsă. *S. Ia*, c. 3-6; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37790.
Conovici 1998, p. 48, subgrupa Va; Garlan 2004, p. 184-186, cat. 329-336, subgrupa VIA.

21. Κεφαλίων cap masculin, stânga
Διονυσοδώρου
Ştampilă dublu imprimată.
S. Ia; c. 3; -4,45 m; nivel 7-8. Nr. inventar 37420. Ştampilă de producător.
Canarache 1957, cat. 390; Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 146, cat. 80, fig. 4/80; Conovici 1998, cat. 362, 364, unde se apreciază că producătorul este mai bine cunoscut în grupa a IV-a; Garlan 2004, p. 61-62, F 30, grupa V-VI ?.

22. άστυνόμου
Πόσιος. Κτήσων
Punct. Ciorchine.
În strat galben, dens. *S. Ib*; c. 12N; nivel 9-8; Nr. inventar 41178.
Sztetyllo 1983, p. 159, cat. 271. Posis 2...+Kteson, cu simbolul amintit, la Conovici 1998, p. 83 şi cat. 343-346, subgrupa Va; Garlan 2004, p. 186, cat. 337, pentru Posis 2 Daiskou, subgrupa VI A.

23. [άστυνόμου]
[Μητ]ροδώρου kantharos, dreapta
του Ἀρισταγό[ρου]
[Αρ]ιστῶν
S. Ic; c. 4, nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37798.
Magistratul Metrodoros 1 Aristagorou cu producătorul Ariston şi simbolul kantharos, subgrupa Va la Conovici 1998, p. 41, 48 şi cat. 347-351, respectiv subgrupa VIA la Garlan 2004, p. 187, cat. 341, cu alt producător.

24. άστυνόμου
Μητροδώρου kantharos, dreapta sus
τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρου
[Μέν?]ον
Toartă cu ştampilă dreptunghiulară, pe patru rânduri (5x2,6 cm).
S. Ia; c. 20N; nivelul 8, în bordei. Nr. inv. 43333 (Fig. 14).
Pentru poziţia cronologică a lui Metrodoros I Aristagorou, Conovici, 1998, cap. I, p. 41 şi pentru argumentele arheologice Conovici, Irimia, 1991, p. 171-172, Addenda; Conovici 1998, p. 48, subgrupa Va şi cat. 347-351, cu bibliografia; Garlan 2004, p. 187, nr. 340-341, subgrupa VI A în tipologia sa. Ştampilele cu acest astynom se datează destul de strâns, între cca. 265-255 a. Chr.

Fig. 14.

25. άστυνόμου kantharos, dreapta, sus
Μητροδώρου
τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρου
Ποσίδειος
S. Ib; c. 4; nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 37804.
Garlan 2004, p. 187, cat. 341, pl. XXXIX cu bibliografia. Magistratul amintit cu producătorul Posideios şi simbolul în cauză, subgrupa VIA în tipologia sa.

26. άστυνόμ[ο](υ) Artemis cu două torţe
Φαινίπ(π)ου
Κτήσ[ω](ν)
Sigma lunar.
S. Id; c. 16N; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 43319.
Conovici 1998, p. 48, 112, cat. 352-353, pl. XXV cu bibliografia; subgrupa Va.

27. [άστυ]ν[ό]μου Φ[αιν]ί(π) Artemis cu două torţe, dreapta
[που] τῦ Πασίχά
[ρου] Μενίσκος
Simbol inversat. S. Ic; c. 5; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37799.
Gramatopol, Poenaru 1969, cat. 341; Conovici 1998, *loc. cit*. Magistratul Phainippos 1 Pasicharou, probabil fiul lui Pasichares Phainippou din grupa III, face parte din subgrupa Va din cauza legendei de tip vechi. Garlan 2004, p. 187, cat. 342, subgrupa VI A; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 150, 290, cat. S 212, pl. XV. Autoarele atribuie magistratul în cauză subgrupei VI A, datorită adoptării cronologiei Garlan 2004, în care grupa Va Conovici coincide din punct de vedere al conţinutului, cu grupa VIA Garlan.

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28. [άστ]υνό[μου]
Φαινίππ(ου) simbol şters
τοῦ Πασιχ[άρου]
Ἀπατού[ριος]
S. Ia; c. 3N; -4,60 m; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 36530.
Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 145, cat. 67, fig. 3/67, cu bibliografia; Conovici 1998, p. 112, cat. 352-353, subgrupa Va; Garlan 2004, p. 187, cat. 342, subgrupa VIA.

29. [άστυνόμου Φαινί](π)[π]ου τõυ
Πασίχά[ρου] Μενίσκος Artemis cu două torţe, dreapta
Simbol inversat.
S. Ib; c. 6; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37797.

30. [άστυνόμου]
Φαινίππου
τοῦ Πασίχάρου
Π[ρῶτος] Artemis cu două torţe, dreapta jos
S. Id; c. 20N; nivel 8-7. Nr. inv. 43321.

31. άστυνόμου Χορη- Nike în cvadrigă, dreapta
γίωνος το-
ũ Λεωμέδ-
οντος Ἑρμων.
S. Ib; c. 20N; nivelul 8-7. Nr. inv. 41176.
Pridik 1917, p. 80, cat. 380; Conovici 1998, p. 48, 117-118, cat. 385, cu discuţia asupra magistratului, subgrupa Vb; Garlan 2004, p. 188, cat. 343, subgrupa VI B, unde Χορηγίων Λεωμέδοντος este plasat la începutul subgrupei şi nu al patrulea, ca la Conovici, *loc. cit.*

32. Nike în cvadrigă, Χορη[γίωνος]
stânga. του Λεωμέ[δον]-
τος ἀστυν[όμ]
ου Ευνίκ[ος?]
S. Ib; c. 24N, nivelul 8-9, în stratul cenuşos ce intră în solul galben. C pătrat. Nr. inv. 37166.
Conovici 1998, p. 48, 117-120, cat. 384-399, subgrupa Vb. Garlan 2004, p. 188, cat. 344, subgrupa VI B unde consideră că producătorul şi-a desfăşurat activitatea de la începutul subgrupei VI A şi a încheiat-o la începutul subgrupei VI C2.

33. άστυ[νόμου]
Ἀππολλ[οδώρου] τοῦ
Διονυ[σίου]
Nu are simbol, sigma lunar.
S. Ib; c. 5; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37794.
Gramatopol, Poenaru 199, cat. 525-528; Conovici 1998, p. 48, cat 355-362, cu bibliografia. Magistratul Apollodoros 3 Dionisiou este plasat la începutul subgrupei Vb. Garlan 2004, p. 191, cat. 356-357, subgrupa VI B; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 291-292, cat. S 227-229, subgrupa VI B (urmând pe Garlan 2004).

34. [άστυ]νόμοῦν?] τος
[Ἀπο]λλοδώρου [τοῦ]
Διονυσίου
S. *Ia-b*; c. 24-25N; în stratul brun-cenuşos de deasupra solului viu; nivel 8-9. Nr. inv. 45159.

35. άστυνόμου
ʼΑπολλ[οδω]ρου
του Διονυσ[ίου]
Toartă cu ştampilă dreptunghiulară, pe trei rânduri (5x2 cm). Un omicron este gravat sub primul lambda din rândul doi. Nu prezintă simbolul specific (capul lui Heracles).
S. Ib; c. 19N; nivel 7. Nr. inv. 43320 (Fig. 15).

36. Κλεαίνετος cap Herakles, dreapta

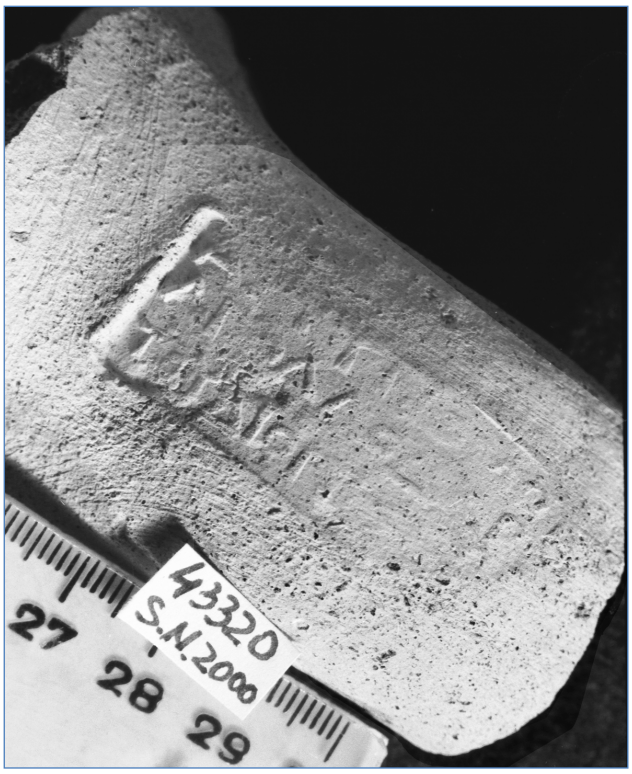

Fig. 15.

Νουμηνίου
S. Ib; c. 17N; nivel 8-7. Nr. inv. 41179.
Pridik 1917, p. 83, cat. 444. Ştampilă a producătorului Kleainetos II pentru astynomul Ἀπολλόδωρος 3 Διονυσίου. Vezi Garlan 2004, p. 192, cat. 361 şi p. 60, F. 27 cu bibliografia. Kleainetos II a activat de la începutul grupei a V-a şi sub mai mulţi astynomi din grupa a VI-a. Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 309, cat. S 461-S 462, pl. XXVII.

37. [Μιτ]ρωβάσ cap Herakles, dreapta
της
S. Ib; c. 17N, nivel 8-7. Nr. inv. 41172.
Conovici 1998, p. 114, cat. 365. Ştampilă de producător. Asociat cu Ἀπολλόδωρος 3 Διονυσίου.

38. [άστυνόμου?]
[.....]
[-]ο[.....]
Κε[.....]
S. Ic; c. 18N, din stratul vineţiu; nivel 9. Nr. inv.

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Tabel 1. *apud* Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 156. Eponimul Ἐπιχάρμος este datat imediat după Λύσανδρος; cf. Cankardas Senol, Kaan Senol, Döger 2004, p. 358, pl. 16.

Perioada	Grace şi Empereur	Finkielsztejn 2001	Jöhrens 2001
Ia	sfârşitul sec. IV-cca 280 a. Chr.	cca 304-271 a. Chr.	sfârşitul sec. IV-începul sec. III a. Chr (ante Koroni)
Ib	279-270 a. Chr.	270-247 a. Chr.	280-270 a. Chr.
Ic	269-240 a. Chr.	246-235 a. Chr.	269-256 a. Chr.
Id	-	-	255-241 a. Chr
IIa	239-225 a. Chr.	234-220 a. Chr.	240-225 a. Chr.
IIb	224-206 (211 Empereur 1990)	219-210 a. Chr.	Prima jumătate a ultimului sfert al sec. III a. Chr.
IIc		209-199 a. Chr.	Trecerea de la perioada II la perioada III

43346. Κέρδων sau Κεφάλιων.

THASOS

39. [Θ]άσιων
Şarpe pe altar; monograma HB
[Aì]σχρίων

Partea superioară, neîntregibilă, a unei amfore. Ştampilă dreptunghiulară, aplicată pe partea superiară a torţii (3,5x2,8 cm). Sigma lunar, monograma HB.

S. Ib; c. 19N; nivelul 8, în bordei. Nr. inv. 43332 (Fig. 16).

Avram 1996, nr. 481, Aischrion II, atelier Molos cu aceeaşi monogramă, însă alt simbol; cat. 477, simbolul este asociat cu Φειδίππος, grupa XV, cca. 266-255 a. Chr; Garlan 2005-2005, gr. IX, cca. 281-273 a. Chr.

Fig. 16

40. Θάσιων
Polonic; vas
Διάγορας
Sigma lunar.
S. Ib; c. 16N; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 43330.

Avram 1996, cat. 482, datat 255 a. Chr; Garlan 2005-2005, gr. X, cca. 272-259 a. Chr. (pentru Διάγορας cca. 263 a. Chr.).

RHODOS

41. [’επ]ί A[ίνησι-]
δάμου
epi→
S. Ia; c. 5; -4,75 m; nivel 8. Nr. inv. 37462.

Grace 1974, cca 269-240 a. Chr.; Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 160, cat. 252, fig. 12/252, cca 268-260 a. Chr, cu bibliografie; Finkielsztejn 2001, p. 188, tabel 17, începutul perioadei Ic, cca 245 a. Chr.

42.’επὶ Ἐ
πιχά
ρμου

Ştampilă de eponim.

S. Ib; c. 12N; nivel 9-8, în stratul de cenuşă şi pietre. Nr. inv. 43317.

Grace 1974, cca. 269-240 a. Chr.; Finkielsztejn 2001, p. 188, tabel 17, perioada Ib, între cca. 270-247 a. Chr. Consideraţii legate de cronologia ştampilelor rhodiene se întâlnesc la Grace 1952, Empereur-Hesnard 1987; Empereur 1990; Finkielsztejn 2001, Jöhrens 2001, etc. Între aceste propuneri de datare târzie există unele diferenţe importante, atât între perioade cât şi în interiorul intervalului propus pentru fiecare perioadă în parte.

43. ’επὶ ἱερέω
ς Τιμοστ-
ράτου
S. Id; c. 19N, în stratul cu cenuşă; nivelul 8-7. Nr. inv. 43318.

Finkielsztejn 2001, p. 188, tabelul 17, la sfârşitul perioadei Ib, cca 247 a. Chr.

44. [’επ]ί Ἱπποκλ[εῦς]
Floare de rodie
S. Ia; c. 1; -4,45 m; nivelul 7-8. Nr. inv. 37454.

Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 160, cat. 249, fig. 12/249, cu bibliografia, înainte de 275 a. Chr.; Finkielsztejn 2001, p. 188, tabel 17; perioada Ib, între cca. 262-247 a. Chr.

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Tabelul 2. Repere cronologice oferite de ştampile amforice cu datări relative stabilite

Nr. crt	Nr. inv.	Centru	Legenda	Simbol	Grupă cronologică/ perioadă	Datare	Sistemul de datare urmărit	Context arheologic
1	37817	Heracleea Pontica	Ἀριστο κράτε[ος]		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sfârşitul sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ia*; c. 2; bordei, nivel 7.
2	37469	Heracleea Pontica	Ἀριστο κράτεος		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ia*; c. 4; -4,30 m; nivel 7-8.
3	43331	Heracleea Pontica	Ἀριστο [κρ]άτεος		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV- primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 19N; spre fundul bordeiului, nivel 8.
4	43324	Heracleea Pontica	Ἀριστο κράτεο[ς]		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 16N; nivel 7-8.
5	43160	Heracleea Pontica	[Ἀρισ]το [κ]ράτεος		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ic*; c. 22N; nivel 8-9.

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6	43334	Heracleea Pontica	Ἀ[ρι]στο κράτης		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 19 N; bordei, nivel 8.
7	43167	Heracleea Pontica	[Ἀρ]ιστο [κρά]τεος		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ia*; c. 15N; nivel 7-8.
8	43169	Heracleea Pontica	Ηρα (...)		grupa V în limitele sec. IV-III a. Chr. sec. III a. Chr.		Brashinskii 1980; Monachov 1999 Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008	*S. Ib*; c. 11N; nivel 8-9.
9	43325	Heracleea Pontica	Ἡρακλ έον[τος]		grupa IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 23N; nivel 8 (?)
10	37827	Heracleea Pontica	Ἡρακλ έοντος		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert al sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 4N; -5,50-5,70m; nivel 8.
11	43163	Heracleea Pontica	[Ἡρ]ακλέ οντος		IV IV III LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert al sec. III a. Chr. al doilea şi al treilea sfert sec. III a. Chr. sf. sec. IV-cca. 275 a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Monachov 1999 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 19N; nivel 8.
12	44693	Heracleea Pontica	Μένη(ς)		IV LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Katz 2003	*S. Ib*; c. 20 N; la fundul bordeiului; nivel 8.

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13	43159	Heracleea Pontica	Μένη(ς)		IV LFG	sf. sec. IV-primul sfert sec. III a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Katz 2003	*S. Ic*; c. 22N, nivel 10-9.
14	43328	Heracleea Pontica	Σενι ῶνος					*S. Ia, b*; c. 19-20N; nivel 7, deasupra bordeiului.
15	43326	Heracleea Pontica	Σενι ῶνος					*S. Ic-d*; c. 20-21 N; nivel 8-7.
16	37478	Heracleea Pontica	Σωκρά τεος		IV	prima jumătate sec. III a. Chr.	Brashinskii 1980 Conovici, Irimia 1991	*S. Ia*; c. 1; -4,55 m; nivel 7-8.
17	41173	Sinope	[άστυνόμου] [Δημή]τρίου [Αγαθ]ων	cap cu coroană, stânga	subgrupa IVc subgrupa VB		Conovici 1989 Garlan 2004	*S. Ib*; c. 11N; nivel 9-8.
18	37419	Sinope	ἀστυνομου Ἰκεσίου τοῦ Βαχχίου Ἡρακλείδης	proră	subgrupa Vb		Conovici 1998	*S. Ia*; c. 3; -4,45 m; nivel 7-8.
19	37795	Sinope	άστυνόμου Καλλισθένον τοῦ Ἑστιαίου Τέβης	Nike în bigă, dreapta	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIA		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ia*; c. 6; nivel 8.
20	37790	Sinope	[άστυνόμου] [Καλλισθένου] [τοῦ Ἑστιαίου] [.....]	Nike în bigă	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIA		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ia*; c. 3-6; nivel 8.
21	37420	Sinope	Κεφαλίων Διονυσοδώρου	cap masculin, stânga	grupa V-VI?		Garlan 2004	*S. Ia*; c. 3; -4,45 m; nivel 7-8.
22	41178	Sinope	άστυνόμου Πόσιος. Κτήσων	punct. ciorchine	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIA		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ib*; c. 12N; nivel 9-8.
23	37798	Sinope	[άστυνόμου] [Μητ]ροδώρου του Ἀρισταγό[ρου] [Αρ]ιστῶν	kantharos, dreapta	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIA		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ic*; c. 4; nivel 8.
24	43333	Sinope	άστυνόμου Μηροδώρου τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρου [Μέν?]ον	kantharos, dreapta sus	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIA	cca. 265-255 a. Chr.	Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ia*; c. 20N; în bordei; nivel 8.

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25	37804	Sinope	άστυνόμου Μητροδώρου το Ἀρισταγόρου Ποσίδειος	kantharos, dreapta, sus	subgrupa VIA		Garlan 2004	*S. Ib*; c. 4; nivel 8.
26	43319	Sinope	άστυνόμ[ο](υ) Φαινίπ(π)ου Κτήσ[ω](ν)	Artemis cu două torţe	subgrupa Va		Conovici 1998	*S. Id*; c. 16N; nivel 8.
27	37799	Sinope	[άστυ]ν[ό]μου Φ[αιν]ί(π) [που] τῦ Πασίχά [ρου] Μενίσκος	Artemis cu două torţe, dreapta	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIA subgrupa VIA		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004 Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, după Garlan 2004	*S. Ic*; c. 5; nivel 8.
28	36530	Sinope	[άστ]υνό[μου] Φαινίππ(ου) τοῦ Πασι[άχρου] Ἀπατού[ριος]	simbol şters	subgrupa Va subgrupa VIa		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ia*; c. 3N; -4,60 m; nivel 8.
29	37797	Sinope	[άστυνόμου Φαινί](π)[π]ου τῦ Πασίχά[ρου] Μενίσκος	Artemis cu două torţe, dreapta				*S. Ib*; c. 6; nivel 8.
30	43321	Sinope	[άστυνόμου] Φαινίππου τοῦ Πασίχάρου Π[ρῶτος]	Artemis cu două torţe, dreapta jos				*S. Id*; c. 20N; nivel 8-7.
31	41176	Sinope	άστυνόμου Χορη-γίωνος το-ῦ Λεωμέδ-οντος Ἡερμων	Nike în cvadrigă, dreapta	subgrupa Vb subgrupa VIB		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	*S. Ib*; c. 20N; nivel 8-7.
32	37166	Sinope	Χορη[γίωνος] του Λεωμέ[δον]-τος ἀστυν[όμ] ου Ευνίκ[ος?]	Nike în cvadrigă, stânga	subgrupa Vb subgrupa VIB		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004	S. Ib; c. 24N; nivel 8-9.
33	37794	Sinope	άστυ[νόμου] Ἀπολλ[οδώρου] τοῦ Διονυ[σίου]		înc. subgrupa Vb subgrupa VIB subgrupa VIB		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004 Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008	*S. Ib*; c. 5; nivel 8.

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34	45159	Sinope	[άστυ]νόμοῦ]τος [Ἀπο]λλοδώρου [τοῦ] Διονυσίου		înc. subgrupa Vb subgrupa VIB subgrupa VIB		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004 Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008	*S. Ia-b*; c. 24-25N; nivel 8-9.
35	43320	Sinope	άστυνόμου Ἀπολλ[οδω]ρου του Διονυσ[ίου]		înc. subgrupa Vb subgrupa VIB subgrupa VIB		Conovici 1998 Garlan 2004 Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008	*S. I b*; c. 19N; nivel 7.
36	41179	Sinope	Κλεαίνετος Νουμηνίου	cap Herakles, dreapta	înc. grupa V şi parţial grupa VI		Garlan 2004, Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008	*S. Ib*; c. 17N; nivel 8-7.
37	41172	Sinope	[Μιτ]ρωβάσ της	cap Herakles, dreapta				*S. Ib*; c. 17N; nivel 8-7.
38	43346	Sinope	[άστυνόμου?] [.....] [-]ο[.....] Κε[.....]					*S. Ic*; c. 18N; nivel 9.
39	43332	Thasos	[Θ]άσιων [Αἰ]σχρίων	Şarpe pe altar; monograma HB	grupa XV grupa IX	266-255 a. Chr. cca. 281-273 a. Chr.	Avram 1996 Garlan 2004	*S. Ib*; c. 19N; în bordei, nivel 8.
40	43330	Thasos	Θάσιων Διάγορας	polonic; vas	 grupa X	255 a. Chr. 272-259 a. Chr.	Avram 1996 Garlan 2004-2005	*S. Ib*; c. 16N; nivel 8.
41	37462	Rhodos	[’επ]ί Α[ίνησι-] δάμου epi→		Ic înc. perioada Ic	cca. 269-240 a. Chr. 268-260 a. Chr. cca. 245 a. Chr.	Grace 1974 Conovici, Irimia 1991 Finkielsztejn 2001	*S. Ia*; c. 5; -4,75 m; nivel 8.
42	43317	Rhodos	επὶ ’Ε πιχά ρμου		perioada Ib perioada Ib	cca. 269-240 a. Chr. cca. 270-247 a. Chr.	Grace 1974 Finkielsztejn 2001	*S. Ib; c. 12N; nivel 9-8.*
43	43318	Rhodos	’επὶ ἱερέω ς Τιμοστ- ράτου		sf. perioadei Ib	cca. 247 a. Chr.	Finkielsztejn 2001	*S. Id; c. 19N; nivel 8-7*

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44	37454	Rhodos	[ἐπ]ὶ Ἱπποκλ[εῦς]	floare de rodie	perioada Ib	ante 275 a. Chr. cca. 262-247 a. Chr.	Conovici, Irimia 1991 Finkielsztejn 2001	*S. Ia*; c. 1; -4,45 m; nivel 7-8.
45		Rhodos	[Ἀρε]τακλέος		sf. perioada Ic	cca. 235 a. Chr.	Finkielsztejn 2001	*S. Ic*; c. 22N; nivel 9-8.
46	37456	Rhodos	Τιμόστ ρατος	simbol nesigur		cca. 269-240 a. Chr. ante 240 a. Chr. cca. 265-255 a. Chr.	Grace 1974 Grace 1986 Conovici, Irimia 1991	*S. Ia*; c. 1; -4,45m; nivel 7-8.
					sf. perioada Ib	cca. 247 a. Chr.	Finkielsztejn	
47	43166	Rhodos	[Φι]λοκράτ[ης]			cca. 240 a. Chr. cca. 242-238 a. Chr.	Grace 1974 Conovici, Irimia 1991	*S. Ic*; c. 22N; nivel 9-8.
					mijloc perioada IIa	cca. 233-220 a. Chr.	Finkielsztejn 2001	
48	37837	Rhodos	Ἀρι[στοκλέ]ος	floare de rodie în centru	perioada II		Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008	*S. Ib*; c. 6; -5,5 m; nivel 8.
49	37483	Cos	Ζωπύ(ρου *sive*-ρίωνος)			al doilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr.		*S. Ia*; c. 1; -4,55 m; nivel 8.

45. [Ἀρε]τακλέος

Ştampilă circulară simplă, toarte în bandă lată. *S. Ic*; c. 22N; nivel 9-8. Fără număr de inventar.

Finkielsztejn 2001, p. 94, tabel 2 şi p. 188, tabel 17, la sfârşitul perioadei Ic, cca. 235 a. Chr. Perioadele Ic-IIa?.

46. simbol Τιμόστ
nesigur ρατος

S. Ia; c. 1; -4,45 m; nivel 7-8. Nr. inv. 37456.

Grace 1974, cca 269-240 a. Chr; Grace 1986, înainte de 240 a. Chr; Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 160, cat. 253, fig. 13/253 cu bibliografia; Conovici, Irimia *loc. cit.,* cca. 265-255 a. Chr.; Finkielsztejn 2001, eponim, p. 188, tabel 17, sfârşitul perioadei Ib, cca. 247 a. Chr.

47. [Φι]λοκράτ[ης]

Ştampilă circulară simplă, scriere retrogradă; buza amforei în bandă lată.

S. Ic; c. 22N; nivelul 9-8. Nr. inv. 43166.

Grace 1974, cca 240 a. Chr; Conovici, Irimia 1991, cca. 242-238 a. Chr.; Finkielsztejn 2001, p. 191, tabel 18, la mijlocul perioadei IIa, între cca. 233-220 a. Chr.

48. Ἀρι[στοκλέ]ος

Floare de rodie în centru.

Ştampilă circulară cu cadru dublu, ştearsă.

S. Ib; c. 6; -5,5 m; nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 37837. Perioada IIa.

Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, p. 316, cat. S 526- 527, perioada II.

COS

49. Ζωπύ(ρου *sive*-ρίωνος)

Ştampilă rectangulară.

S. Ia; c. 1; -4,55 m; nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 37483. Poziţia stratigrafică indică al doilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr.

Conovici, Irimia 1991, p. 167, cat. 329, fig. 15/329, cu bibliografia.

DIPINTI

1. *Dipinto*: H.

Amforă de Sinope cu *dipinto* (H).

S. Ib; c. 19-20N; nivelul 8, în bordei. Nr. inv. 43336.

2. *Dipinto*: A, K, Λ.

Amforă fragmentară de tipul Heracleea Pontica: Ἀριστοκράτης cu *dipinto* roşu pe gât: A.

S. Ib; c. 19N; nivelul 8, în bordei. Nr. inv. 43331.

3. *Dipinto*: T.

Amforă fragmentară de Rhodos cu *dipinto*: T.

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S. Ib; c. 14N, Gr. nr. 71, nivelul 8. Nr. inv. 43337.

Analiza cronologiei ştampilelor sugerează o anumită concordanţă între datele propuse pentru fiecare piesă în parte. Asocierea constatată între ştampilele descoperite în nivelul 8 (după caz şi nivelele 7-8 sau 8-9) arată o prezenţă mai numeroasă a acestora în al doilea sfert şi la începutul celui de al treilea sfert al sec. III a. Chr. Apariţia în nivelurile amintite şi a unor ştampile mai târzii (ex. de tipul Sinope, subgrupa Vb, la Conovici 1998, respectiv Χορηγίων Λεωμέδοντος şi de tipul Rhodos, perioada IIa, Finkielsztejn 2001, respectiv Ἀρετακλῆς) s-ar putea datora şi răscolirii intense a straturilor arheologice, fenomen datorat unor multiple cauze şi greu de sesizat din punct de vedere stratigrafic în toate detaliile. În asemenea situaţii, ştampilele de amfore mai recente, ca şi alte materiale arheologice târzii, puteau ajunge în nivelurile inferioare, după cum şi piesele mai vechi apar adesea în nivelurile superioare, mai noi.

Comentariu referitor la fibulele de schemă La Tène din nivelurile 8-9 din aşezarea fortificată de la Satu Nou – „Valea lui Voicu”

Fibulă de fier fragmentară (lipsă ac), 8 cm, resort 2+2 spire, coardă exterioară(?), schemă La Tène timpuriu; S Ib, carou 19, din interiorul unei locuinţe semiadâncite, campania 2001.

Piesa face parte dintre fibule cu arcul puternic boltit, picior prevăzut cu o sferă, care se situează în zona înălţimii maxime a arcului; exemplarele sunt de dimensiuni mijlocii sau mari (J. Filip: Fibeln mit großem kugeligem Schlußstück[7]). Resorturile unor astfel de piese se compun din 4-6 spire, coardă exterioară – schemă La Tène timpuriu. Pe teritoriul României (Fig. 17) se înregistrează (pe lângă obiectul de mai sus) alte 16 exemplare, 3 de bronz, 13 de fier, fiind frapantă predominarea clară a pieselor de fier în cadrul acestui grup cu o morfologie simplă (Fig. 19).

În privinţa contextelor de descoperire se remarcă faptul că toate exemplarele cunoscute (afară de cel discutat aici) provin din mediu funerar. În cimitirul de la Pişcolt exemplarele acestui tip sunt specifice celui de-al doilea orizont de înmormântări, distribuţia lor pe planul descoperirii fiind grăitoare. Ele constituie un fel de cerc în jurul grupului de morminte mai vechi[8]. În necropola de la Sanislău ele sunt încadrate pe baze analogice fazei La Tène B_2, datarea mormintelor în care au fost găsite pornind în special de la aceste fibule[9]. În cimitirul vecin de la Ciumeşti, singura fibulă de acest fel se asociază cu o brăţară „cu linii geometrice în relief”, care tipologic face parte din faza La Tène B. Însă o fibulă asemănătoare (cu corpul îngroşat) este socotită a face parte din faza La Tène C[10]. Şi în necropola de la Fântânele încadrarea cronologică se face pe baza analogiilor, cât şi unui alt tip de fibulă, considerată tot din La Tène-ul timpuriu, dar care, deşi fragmentară, ca schemă, este tipică La Tène-ului mijlociu. Concluzia de ansamblu a autorului este că mormântul aparţine fazelor La Tène B_1/B_2[11]. Pentru restul descoperirilor cu astfel de piese contextele nu sunt relevante.

Fibulă de bronz, *S. Ia*, carou 11N, -3,60 m, 2001, fragmentară, dar în mare măsură reconstituibilă (Fig. 18), 7,7 cm, resort 2+2 spire, coardă externă, aspectul arcului, văzut din profil, indică schemă La Tène mijlociu[12] (chiar dacă piciorul nu este ataşat pe arcul piesei).

Fibula de bronz fragmentară de la „Valea lui Voicu” nu se bucură de aceeaşi precizie de asociere în condiţiile unui complex bine definit. Autorii săpăturilor îşi exprimă oarecari dubii, referitor la poziţia stratigrafică a acesteia. Citäm din raportul de săpătură din anul 2001: „Nu ştim dacă fibula celtică de bronz descoperită în *S. Ia*, c. 11N aparţine aceluiaşi nivel (care aici lipseşte) sau nivelului 9. După opinia noastră, atât descoperirile din stratul portocaliu cât şi cele din stratul brun-vineţiu aparţin primului nivel getic”[13].

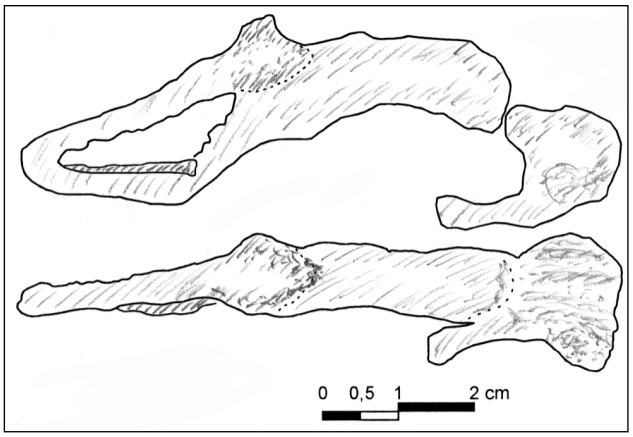

Fig. 17.

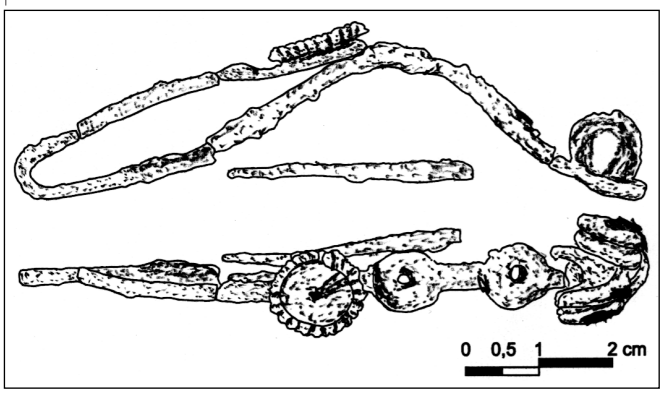

Fig. 18.

[7] Filip 1956, 525.

[8] Zirra V. V. 1997, 116-117, 96, fig. 5.

[9] Zirra Vl. 1972, 174, 155 fig. 3/1-2.

[10] Zirra Vl. 1967, 59-62, 23, fig. 10/III.

[11] Dănilă 1978, 270, 263, fig. 5/5.

[12] Bujna 2003, 77, fig. 57.

[13] Conovici, Irimia, Ganciu 2002, 277.

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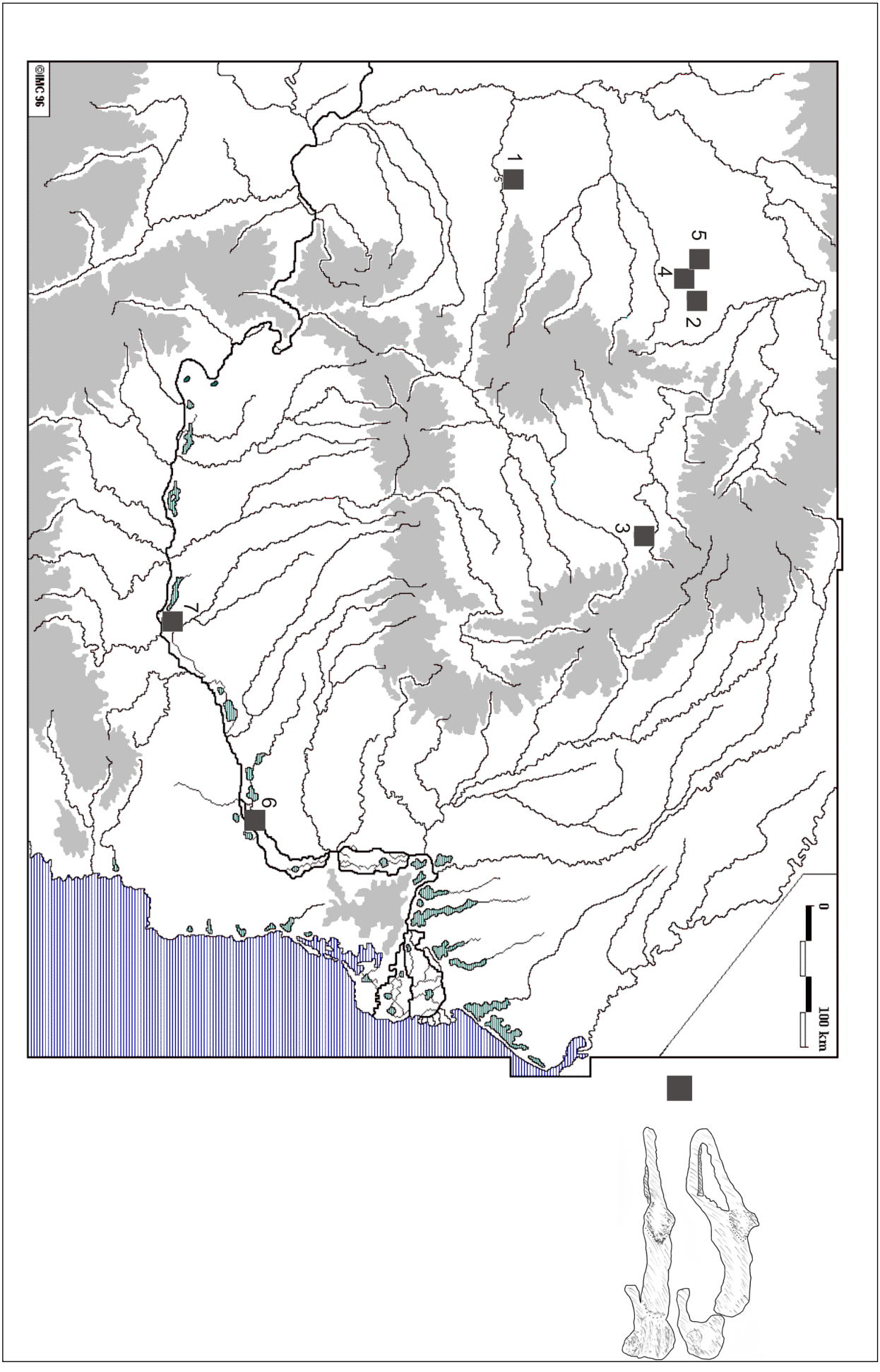

Fig. 19. Hartă de răspândire a piesei nr. 1 (Fig. 17).

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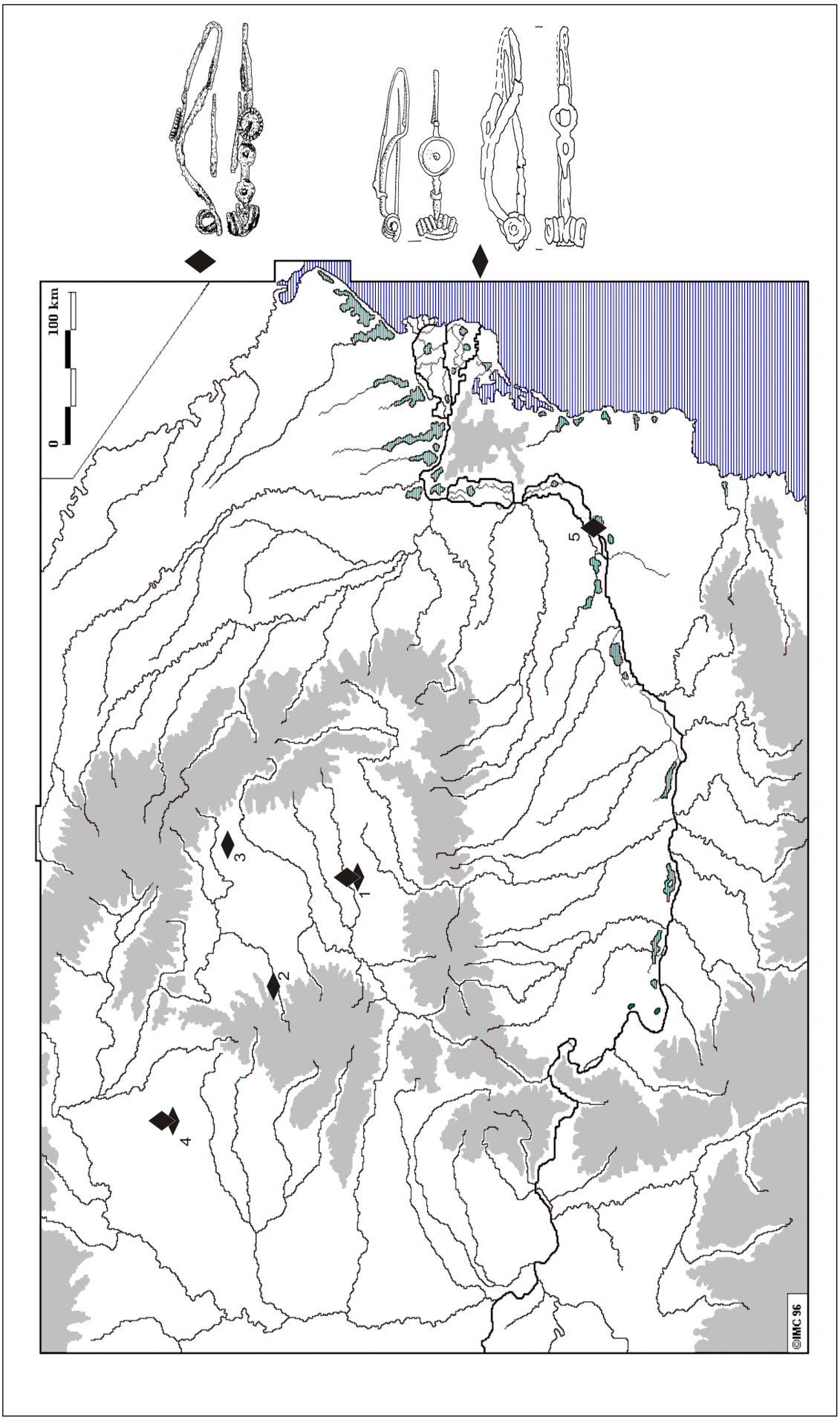

Fig. 20. Hartă de răspândire a piesei nr. 2 (fig. 18).

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Oricum, după cum se poate observa, opinia exprimată lasă să se înţelegă că piesa nu poate în niciun caz să aparţină unui orizont mai recent decât cel reprezentat de nivelul 8 din aşezare.

Fragmentaritatea piesei de bronz de schemă La Tène ieşite la iveală în campania din 2001 pune oarecare probleme de reconstituire a artefactului. Având în vedere şi unicitatea exemplarului, cel puţin în ţara noastră, este greu de dat o soluţie definitivă în această privinţă, ci doar una cât mai probabilă, bazată pe logica simetriei exemplarului. Extremitatea piciorului este lăţită sub formă (aproape) circulară şi perforată, loc prin care era străbătută de un nit (pierdut), dar a cărui urmă poate fi recunoscută pe discul aplicat deasupra sa. Acesta era totodată şi lipit, urme ale materialului folosit în acest scop fiind în continuare vizibile. La rândul său discul respectiv este prevăzut pe circumferinţă sa cu o sârmă de bronz în torsadă, aplicată prin lipire. Interiorul acestui spaţiu, astfel delimitat, era fără îndoială umplut cu un material de genul pastă de sticlă, dispărut cu timpul. Pe arcul piesei, în zona sa de culminaţie, cât şi înspre resort, se observă alte două aplatizări circulare, perforate, care cu mare probabilitate vor fi purtat şi ele discuri aplicate prin lipire şi nituire, iar apoi umplute cu material colorat. Astfel, între discul de pe extremitatea piciorului şi cele două de pe arc (astăzi absente) se crea o simetrie atractivă.

Morfologia cu trăsături particulare a acestei piese o situează cumva la limita dintre două grupuri de fibule, un fel de „hibrid" între acestea: 1. grupul de fibule cu arcuri scunde, picior prelung prevăzut cu un disc dispus longitudinal, ataşat în jumătatea anterioară a arcului. Resort compus din 6 spire, coardă exterioară – schemă La Tène mijlociu. Înregistrate 5 exemplare, toate de bronz, din care, la două dintre ele se pare că persistă urme de umplutură cu email. Contextul acestora este în mediu funerar, fără excepţie. Toate descoperirile se situează la nord şi vest de Carpaţi. Singurul indiciu de datare legat de fibulele de acest tip provine de asemenea din necropola de la Pişcolt, unde se asociază cu tipul de fibule care va fi discutat în continuare (Fig. 20) şi cu un inel de gleznă cu patru semiove mari, ceea ce ar pleda pentru faza La Tène C. Pe de altă parte, poziţia spaţială a mormântului în aria funerară a necropolei sugerează că ar fi vorba de una dintre înmormântările cele mai târzii. La Fântânele-„Livadă", asocierea cu un inel de gleznă de acelaşi fel, precum şi cu o centură ornamentală de bronz, înclină, de asemenea, pentru o datare în faza La Tène C[14]. Pentru celelalte piese contextele nu sunt destul de explicite pentru o interpretare de natură cronologică; 2. fibule de mari dimensiuni cu arcuri

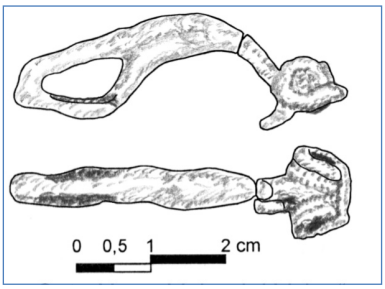

Fig. 21.

scunde, picior prelung, prevăzut cu „inele"[15] dispuse longitudinal, ataşat pe arc în jumătatea sa anterioară. Resort compus din 6 spire, coardă exterioară – schemă Latène mijlociu. Înregistrate 2 exemplare, 1 de bronz, 1 de fier. Context: mediu funerar, amândouă. Indicaţii pentru ordonarea cronologică sunt slabe, cu toate acestea poziţia mormântului în aria sudică a cimitirului de la Pişcolt (M135)[16] presupune apartenenţa sa la orizontul final, La Tène C_1[17].

Fibulă de fier, S Ib, caroul 18N, nivelul 8 (9?) 2000, fragmentară (lipsă ac), 4,6 cm, resort 2+2 spire, coardă externă, foarte probabil cu piciorul ataşat la apogeul boltirii arcului piesei (schemă La Tène C).

Fibula de fier din complexul de locuire discutat poate fi convenabil comparată cu categoria pieselor cu arcuri în general mai scunde, picior prevăzut cu o sferă sau un disc transversal de dimensiuni variabile şi cu trecere relativ lină de la arc spre picior, iar resortul, de regulă este compus din patru spire, cu coardă interioară – schemă La Tène mijlociu. Tipul respectiv este destul de înrudit cu tipurile Gebhard 14[18] şi Feugère 1a[19]. În mod particular, din pricina coroziunii piesei la care ne referim, este dificil de precizat poziţia în care piciorul se ataşa pe arc, dar s-ar putea, totuşi, presupune că ataşarea se producea pe la mijlocul ar-

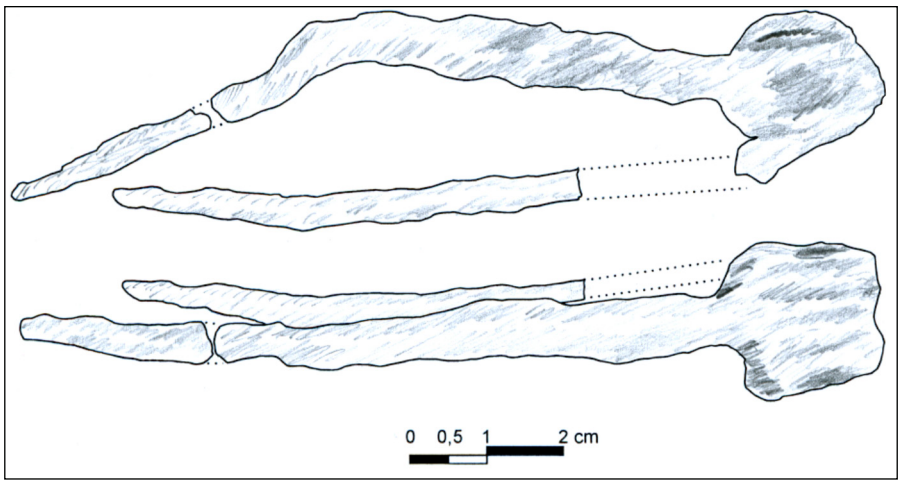

Fig. 22.

[14] Crişan 1975, 43-47.

[15] De fapt „inelele" reprezintă tot nişte aplatizări perforate pentru montarea pe ele a unor discuri (dispărute cu trecerea timpului), prevăzute la rândul lor cu pastă de sticlă sau email.

[16] Németi, 1989, 86, fig. 9 şi 9/1.

[17] Zirra V. V. 1997, 127 fig. 29.

[18] Gebhard 1991.

[19] Feugère 1985, 186-187 şi planşa 2/38-39. Apariţia tipului este plasată la sfârşitul sec. III sau chiar la începutul sec. II a. Chr.

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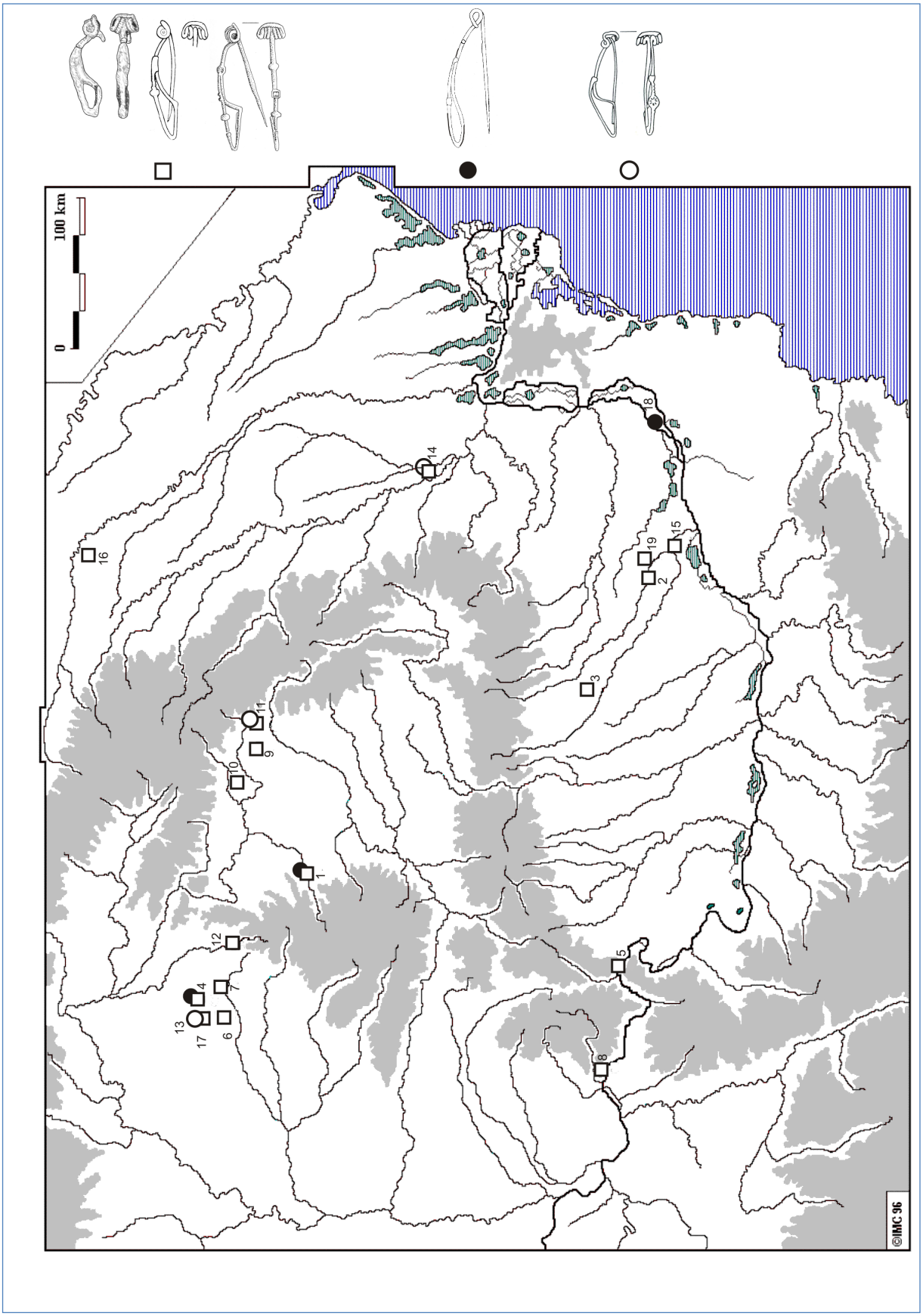

Fig. 23. Hartă de răspândire a piesei nr. 3 (fig. 21).

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culului.

În România sunt cunoscute până acum 8 exemplare, 3 de bronz, 5 de fier, din care 5 exemplare în mediu funerar, iar în aşezare 3 exemplare. Mormintele care conţin astfel de fibule la Ciumeşti sunt considerate a fi dintre cele mai târzii[20], cândva la trecerea dintre fazele La Tène C_1/C_2, situaţie asemănătoare şi cu cea de la Apahida[21] (Fig. 23).

În ansamblu poziţia cronologică a fibulei de la „Valea lui Voicu" este destul de clar una dintre cele mai timpurii din România, foarte probabil cândva la sfârşitul fazei B_2 sau la trecerea între fazele La Tène B_2 şi C_1.

Fibulă de fier S Ic c. 18N, 2000, fragmentară (lipsă picior), 11,3 cm; resort 2+2 spire, coardă interioară?; arc (probabil deformat) prelung, cu boltire redusă; starea de conservare a piesei nu permite o atribuire clară a acesteia unui tip bine definit. Este, totuşi, destul de probabil că piciorul piesei, atunci când acesta a fost produsă, se va fi ataşat pe arc undeva în zona sa de mijloc. Dacă ar fi să considerăm doar aspectul arcului, cu reticenţa necesară, fibula ar putea fi încadrată cu o oarecare probabilitate schemei La Tène C[22].

Menţionăm că în materie de fibule de schemă La Tène, descoperite de-a lungul anilor pe teritoriul României, deşi de ordinul sutelor, relativ puţine dintre acestea s-au bucurat de sesizarea unor împrejurări cu relevanţă cronologică sigură. În mare parte cronologia acestei categorii de fibule s-a bazat pe analogii mai strânse sau mai laxe cu descoperiri din afara graniţelor ţării noastre. De regulă, cu excepţia necropolei de la Pişcolt, unde seria bogată de morminte de incineraţie şi inhumaţie a oferit posibilităţi consistente de departajare a unor orizonturi funerare relative, fibulele de schemă La Tène găsite pe teritoriul României, încadrate cronologic pe baze analogice, au căpătat cu timpul valoare de indicatori cronologici de primă mână, atunci când se asociau cu alte materiale în complexe funerare sau nefunerare. În genere dinamica accentuată a acestei categorii de piese vestimentare, investite, fără îndoială, uneori, cu valenţe de natură a reprezenta statutul social şi economic al persoanei care le purta, poate oferi multor tipuri de fibule poziţia de artefacte „privilegiate" din punct de vedere cronologic.

Lărgind puţin comentariul, în principiu, producerea unui tip de obiect este legată de satisfacerea unei cereri, la rândul ei legată atât de funcţionalitatea bunului respectiv, cât şi de schimbările şi fluctuaţiile modei. Această situaţie poate fi mai evidentă atunci când e vorba de artefacte care implică un rol estetic evident, alături de unul funcţional. În general se poate considera că orizontul de timp în care a fost produs un tip de obiect este finit în timp şi că, după apariţia sa, sub influenţa cererii, cantităţile anuale produse şi prezente într-un mediu dat, chiar dacă variază de la an la an, pot fi descrise printr-o curbă abruptă care culminează cu un singur vârf de producere. Ulterior, după ce cererea, preferinţa pentru acel tip de obiect este în mare parte satisfăcută, producerea acestuia descreşte potrivit unei rate mai puţin abrupte în comparaţie cu răstimpul în care cererea era încă neacoperită. Având în vederea că este vorba de bunuri în primul rând de uz comun, nu există motive evidente pentru care să considerăm că între momentul producerii, apoi a pierderii sau abandonării lor ar exista un interval de timp important, ci mai degrabă unul restrâns[23].

Fibula de fier (Fig. 17) – din păcate foarte corodată – a fost descoperită în umplutura unei construcţii, considerate de către autorii săpăturii o locuinţă semiadâncită (bordei) care a fost amenajată şi aparţine nivelului 8 al aşezării de la „Valea lui Voicu". Asocierea cu o considerabilă cantitate de ceramică locală, dar în special cu mai multe resturi de amfore ştampilate de Heraclea, Cnidos, Rhodos, Sinope şi Thasos îi asigură o încadrare generală clară spre sfârşitul primei jumătăţi a sec. III a. Chr., mai precis undeva în anii 265-255, dacă ar fi să judecăm după cei mai puternici vectori de datare, respectiv o ştampilă de amforă de Thasos şi una de Sinope. Desigur, se poate pune problema diferenţei în timp, adică a decalajului între momentul producerii acestor amfore şi acela al abandonării şi colmatării locuinţei pe fundul căreia au fost găsite resturile lor. Înclinăm să credem că intervalul de timp între producerea amforelor şi dezafectarea locuinţei amintite nu poate să fi fost foarte mare. Un argument, dacă vreţi un indiciu semnificativ, este cantitatea substanţială de amfore de import care au fost găsite la „Valea lui Voicu". Faptul acesta ne face să credem că locuitorii sitului priveau ambalajele respective, precum şi conţinutul lor iniţial, drept nişte mărfuri mai degrabă comune. Cu alte cuvinte e destul de greu de crezut că ar fi atribuit o semnificaţie specială (de prestigiu, spre exemplu) amforelor respective, ceea ce i-ar fi putut îndemna să le păstreze cu o grijă aparte. Pe de altă parte, observaţiile de natură stratigrafică făcute la faţa locului, respectiv lemnele arse de la baza adânciturii construcţiei, cât şi arsura de deasupra ne îndeamnă să credem că locuinţa a ars la un moment dat şi că deasupra ei s-a ridicat eventual o alta. Oricum, în cazul destul de probabil că bordeiul şi-a găsit sfârşitul printr-un incendiu, este iarăşi greu de crezut că astuparea sa nu a fost făcută grabnic după aceea. Cu alte cuvinte, pledăm pentru o colmatare rapidă a resturilor construcţiei distruse.

[20] Zirra Vl. 1967, 112-114.

[21] Zirra Vl. 1976, 36.

[22] Bujna 2003, 77, fig. 57.

[23] Vezi Win Basp 5.43; Rustoiu 1997, 14; autorul este de acord cu „... o perioadă scurtă de timp de *geneză*, urmată apoi de o perioadă când artefactele respective sunt la *modă* şi nivelul producţiei lor este maxim. Odată cu apariţia unor noi forme de fibule, tipurile vechi sunt scoase din modă, dar o serie de exemplare continuă a fi utilizate o anumită perioadă de timp... De asemenea, durata de utilizare este influenţată şi de natura metalului de confecţionare, piesele de argint fiind folosite uneori o perioadă mai mare de timp". Desigur, precizarea finală este demnă de luat în considerare mai cu seamă pentru fibulele care conţin o cantitate semnificativă de metal preţios şi un sistem decorativ elaborat.

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Celelalte trei fibule (Fig. 18, 21-22) au fost găsite în depunerea arheologică din nivelurile 8-9 din situl de la „Valea lui Voicu”. Aceste niveluri, la rândul lor, dispun de numeroşi indicatori puternici de datare reprezentaţi de ştampilele de amfore de provenienţe diferite şi care se susţin reciproc la o examinare „încrucişată” (vezi mai sus tabelele şi catalogul ştampilelor). Sigur, se poate pune întrebarea, dacă în nivelurile 8-9 ale aşezării nu a existat o circulaţie (deplasare) a materialelor la care facem referinţă în raport cu depunerile succesive, mai recente, fie chiar în acele vremuri îndepărtate, fie ulterior, mai ales că nivelurile respective au o dezvoltare pe verticală destulă de redusă (Fig. 5). Evident, *de plano* o asemenea ipoteză nu poate fi exclusă.

Pe de altă, în privinţa observaţiilor stratigrafice din timpul desfăşurării săpăturilor arheologice care au stat la baza documentaţiei păstrate, nu există niciun motiv întemeiat pentru exprimarea unor îndoieli legate de prezenţa şi apartenenţa materialelor arheologice în nivelurile 8 şi 9 ale sitului.

Examinarea resturilor de amfore ştampilate ne înfăţişează un tablou bogat şi divers în privinţa producătorilor. Registrele cronologice de producere a amforelor ştampilate variază şi ele, în funcţie de rezultatele cercetărilor asupra centrelor de producţie din lumea greacă sau „barbară”, acolo unde acestea au ajuns. Observăm că unele ştampile amforice presupun secvenţe temporale mai scurte, altele mai lungi. Într-o astfel de situaţie, pe baza urmăririi frecvenţei şi valorii cronologice atribuite diferiţilor producători de recipiente ceramice, suntem de părere că ar trebui admisă pentru datarea nivelurilor 8-9 de la „Valea lui Voicu” o valoare medie, adică în deceniile 7-6 (sau 8-6) ale sec. III a. Chr.

În aceste condiţii, în ansamblu, asocierea în nivelurile respective a fibulelor de schemă La Tène timpuriu şi mijlociu implică aprecierea trecerii de la fazele La Tène B_2 – La Tène C_1 spre sfârşitul primei jumătăţi a sec. III a. Chr.

Se poate remarca, de asemenea, că între materiale provenite din cercetările de la „Valea lui Voicu” (nivelurile atribuite sec. III a. Chr.) nu au apărut niciodată fibule de schemă tracică. Această constatare care poate fi privită ca un *argumentum a silentio* pledează pentru încheierea circulaţiei fibulelor de schemă tracică anterior mijlocului sec. III a. Chr. De altminteri, în general, fibulele de schemă La Tène şi cele tracice nu se asociază niciodată în contexte clare[24].

[24] Zirra V. V. 1996-1998, 47-48.

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE RADOVANU *DAVAE* IN CĂLĂRAŞI COUNTY.
Constructions and Fire Installations

DONE ŞERBĂNESCU, CRISTIAN SCHUSTER, ALEXANDRU S. MORINTZ, LAURENȚIU MECU

Keywords: Radovanu, Getic fortified settlements, recent researches, constructions and fire installations.

Abstract: This article presents the results of the new archaeological campaigns of 2004-2009 from the two Radovanu *davae*. Surfaces investigated, excavation methods used, as well as the magnetometric prospections were referred to. Surface constructions and their utility, especially the ones of *Second Gorgana*, the deepened dwellings of the *First Gorgana* as well as the various types of fire installations (domestic hearths, altar-hearths, ovens) are taken into discussion.

Cuvinte-cheie: Radovanu, aşezări getice fortificate, cercetări recente, construcții şi instalații de foc.

Rezumat: În articol, sunt prezentate rezultatele noilor campanii arheologice din perioada 2004-2009, în cele două *davae* de la Radovanu. Se fac referiri la suprafețele investigate, la metodele de săpătură alese, precum şi la măsurătorile magnetometrice efectuate. Sunt luate în discuție construcțiile de suprafață, în special, cele de pe *Gorgana a doua*, rostul acestora, locuințele adâncite de pe *Gorgana întâi* şi diferitele tipuri de instalațiile de foc (vetre menajere, vetre-altar, cuptoare).

In 2004 archaeological researches at Radovanu *(Second Gorgana*[1]) were resumed after the agreement concluded between *The Gumelnița Civilization Museum*, Oltenița County, and *"Vasile Pârvan*" Institute of Archaeology – *Thracology Center* from Bucharest. Their main aim was the continuous investigation of the fortified Getic settlement (*dava*[2]) and of the Late Bronze Age establishment located here (Radovanu culture[3]). The *First Gorgana's* problem was also discussed[4] with this occasion (the second *dava* from Radovanu) and the higher terrace situated behind these fortified Getic settlements, filled with same period discoveries.

The micro region's interdisciplinary research project gained over the time an international character after the implication of various institutions and persons from United States of America (*ArchaeoCommunity Foundation*[5] and *EnviroSystems Inc.*[6]), Bulgaria (*Tutrakan Museum*[7], *Isperih Museum*[8]), Great Britain (*University of Edinburgh*[9]) and Romania *("Valahia" University from Târgovişte*[10], *The Lower Danube University from Galați*[11], *"Teohari Antonescu" Giurgiu County Museum*[12], *"Aurel Sacerdoțeanu" County Museum in Râmnicul Vâlcea*[13], *"Sebastian Morintz" The National Museum of Alba Iulia*[14], *Association for the support of multi-disciplinary and archaeological research in Oltenița*).

The abundance of archaeological vestiges found in Radovanu Village draws the archaeologists' attention since the early 20's[15]. Back then, young

[1] Şerbănescu *et alii* 2005. The location was also called *Gherghelău*: Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 5. The interesting fact is that, today, as a consequence of the intense archaeological activity developed here, the villagers started to call this location *La Muzeu* (*At the Museum*)!

[2] Regarding the term *dava*, also see: Russu 1967, 162 f.; Russu 1981, 82; Vulpe A. 1976; Crişan 1977, 290 f.; Florescu 1980b; Coteanu 1981, 22; Babeş, Suceveanu 1996, 27 f.; etc.

[3] About the Radovanu culture, see Morintz 1978, 143 ff.; Morintz 1985, 7-21; Schuster, Şerbănescu 2007.

[4] Mentioned by some authors in the literature as *Gherghelău*: Comşa 1989. Radu Florescu also uses the term *Gărgălău* (Florescu 1980a, 288), when he refers to the existence of a Neolithic settlement, "*dating from Vidra phase of Boian culture"*, supposed to have been researched at Radovanu!?

[5] We refer to Mr. John Crary and Mr. David Monsees, who directly participated in the 2009 field researches, in 2004 respectively (together with Caroline Monsees), and to whom we are honored to convey our thanks for the financial and logistic support granted to the Radovanu researches and not only those.

[6] We mention Christine Markussen (2009). We hope that the magnetometric investigations from Radovanu as well as from other archaeological sites in Romania (Iepureşti; see Kogălniceanu, Morintz, Markussen 2010), will be helpful to her scientific career.

[7] We mention our colleague Emil Petkov (2006-2008).

[8] We mention Mrs. Theodora Vassilieva (2009).

[9] Mrs. Claire Rennie (2008).

[10] Research fellows Cristina Constantin (2005), Laurențiu Mecu (2005-2009), Alexandru Nălbitoru (2006-2009), Tiberiu Nica (2006-2007) and students.

[11] Mrs. Simona Lungu (2005-2007).

[12] Mr. Andrei Mocanu (2005-2007) and Mrs. Raluca Dumitru-Kogălniceanu (2008-2009).

[13] Mr. Ionuț Tuțulescu (2008-2009).

[14] Our colleague Cristinel Fântâneanu (2008).

[15] Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 5 f.; Schuster, Şerbănescu 2007, 244 f.

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Fig. 1. View taken by plane with the two *davae* from Radovanu (apud CIMEC).

Gheorghe Ştefan surveyed the high terrace on the right side of Argeş River. Barbu Ionescu was also interested in this area and even made a few trenches on the *Second Gorgana,* as well as Expectatus Bujor who excavated in 1962 a large-scale trench (55.00 x 1.20 m, with depths up to 1.20 m), which sectioned the settlement from northeast to southeast[16]. Besides, traces of this ditch as well as Ionescu's trenches were also detected by the new investigations conducted in 2004-2009[17]. Some of the archaeological pieces rescued over the years by Gheorghe Ştefan, Barbu Ionescu and Expectatus Bujor were analyzed in articles and studies published since the early 60's in the 20th century[18].

We also remind Barbu Ionescu's trenches[19] made over the years on the terrace from behind the two mounds, which ended with the discovery of materials dating from Bronze Age (Tei and Radovanu cultures), Early Iron Age (Hallstatt) and Late Iron Age / Getic discoveries.

At the western end of *Coadelor Valley*, about 1.5 km west from Radovanu, outside the city area, Barbu Ionescu identified in 1959 in the location *La Muscalu* a fortified Neolithic settlement, later investigated by Eugen Comşa for over 25 years, starting with 1960[20]. In the same valley slope in the *Pe Neguleasă* point, two graves and a surface construction dating from the same period were found[21]. Graves were also discovered in *Porcului Lake Valley* area[22].

Between *Pe Neguleasă* and *Valea lui Petcu* Maria Comşa[23] researched on a length of more than 100 m, starting from 1960 until the late 80's, a settlement whose first chronological phase was established in the sixth century AD and whose existence lasts until 10th century AD[24]. The Romanian village was in the same area starting with 5th-7th centuries, strengthened with ditches that were meant to make the separation from the valley. Moreover, in *Pe Neguleasa* point the community's graveyard was placed[25].

The perimeter located north-east, dating from the 6th-10th centuries settlement, at the point named *Pe Neguleasă,* was also used as an area designed for producing pottery and for pottery firing, a reliable evidence, among others, being a web pottery or ceramics kiln dating from 10th century AD[26], along with others dating from 6th-8th centuries AD[27]. A considerable group of iron weapons and tools (anvils, coulters, battle axes, and arrowheads) which belonged very likely to a forge's inventory[28] was discovered in the peripheral area of a 10th century settlement.

Maria Comşa investigated in 1967 the remnants of a pottery kiln[29] "*carved in the slope situated North of the fortified Getic settlement (Second Gorgana), in the bank situated peripheral of the unfortified settlement (from the terrace behind the Second Gorgana), which continues towards north and north west of the dava mentioned above, on the right of the road leading to Radovanu, Căscioarele village" in the point known as La Frații Dincă*"[30]. Dating from the first half of the 1st century BC, the kiln had a shape of a truncated cone, with a horizontal lattice supported by a median wall.

In the point *Valea lui Petcu* (2), the researches made also by Maria Comşa in the 80's led to the identification of several surface dwellings, huts and annexes dating from 9th-10th centuries AD[31]. These structures belonged "*mostly to ancient/old Romanian population*", but also to certain "*individuals who came from the north-pontic area during the 9th century, and which came into contact with the local population, being assimilated by it in a relatively short time*"[32].

[16] Unfortunately information regarding the respective excavations is insufficient (Expectatus Bujor, Barbu Ionescu, *Archives of Gumelnița Civilization Museum in Oltenița*, File 1961-1967, page 42) or are totally missing.

[17] Thus the Expectatus Bujor trench was noticed in *Surface 1/2008* and *O/2008*, and Barbu Ionescu sondages were identified in *Trenches nos. XXI-XXII*, *XXV* and *Surface Q*.

[18] Preda 1966; Cassan-Franga 1967; Glodariu 1974, 259, no. 84: reffers to a bronze coin accidentally discovered in 1943 at Radovanu (Şerbănescu 1987, endnote 5, thinks that "*the discovery year must be earlier*"); Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985.

[19] The information regarding these excavations is little.

[20] Comşa 1972; Comşa 1976; Comşa 1986; Comşa 1990.

[21] Comşa 1990, 17.

[22] Comşa 1990, 104 ff.

[23] Comşa M. 1981.

[24] Comşa M. 1975.

[25] Comşa M. 1977, 310 f.

[26] Comşa M. 1971.

[27] Comşa M. 1981, 241 ff. and fig. 1.

[28] Comşa M., Gheannopoulos 1969.

[29] Comşa M. 1985, 172 and fig. 1.

[30] Comşa M. 1986, 143 ff.

[31] Comşa M. 1989.

[32] Comşa M. 1989, 146.

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The emplacement of the two *davae*

Returning to the two points the Getic *davae* are located, *Second Gorgana* and *First Gorgana*[33], it must be noted that they are placed on the high terrace from the right side of the former course of the river (Fig. 1)[34]. In the Getic period, but also in prehistory, it is very probable that the river covered the terrace lower parts[35]. Argeş River belongs currently to the area, about 2-2.5 km east, which was meant to be the Danube-Bucharest Canal. Certain is the fact that today the two sites are placed at 35 m, respectively 38 m, above the northeastern part of the village[36]. There are about 15 km southeast from Radovanu until the place where Argeş River is flowing into the Danube, near Oltenița. Otherwise, upstream to the northwest at about 44 km from the two Radovanu *davae* is situated the well-known fortified settlement from Popeşti-*Nucet* (Giurgiu County). Danube's meadow can be seen in straight line towards south at 11 km, in the same direction, at 6 km being located Căscioarele *dava.*

Fig. 2. Radovanu – *Second Gorgana* (photo by Gh. Celmec).

The archaeological campaigns from 1971-1973, 1975-1977, 1979, 1984, 1988

Second Gorgana

The terrace edge on which the *Second Gorgana dava* was raised has a triangle shape, with a surface of about 4,000 sq meters (Figs. 1-2)[37]. The northwest-southeast oriented side is parallel with the riverbed. A 9 to 13 meters deep valley with a mouth opening between 10-16 meters and a base width of 3 to 5 meters separates the northern side from the terrace. Most likely, both natural factors and human activity (starting perhaps with the *Getae*) may have increased the valley's size, providing the *dava* a more effective defense. The southwestern-northwestern side is the last one flanked by a wide natural valley.

Over the time, all three sides were affected by the erosion phenomenon, which is easy to recognize in the edge's north-west-southeastern part, where a portion of the *dava* was destroyed as a result of massive landslides. *Gorgana* was divided in two areas / sectors (*Sector I* and *II*) a northern and a southern one by reason of a more efficient archaeological investigation. This division/segmentation occurred in 1971 (the year in which systematic researches began) after outlining the northwestern-southeastern oriented *Trench no. I* (78.00 x 1.50 m)[38]. Both sectors were divided one after another in two by a ditch – *Trench no. VII/1973* & *VIIA/1975* (59.00 x 2.00 m)[39], disposed in a cross over *Trench no. I.* In this way, two subdivisions were constituted in *Sector II: Sector IIa,* placed in the northwestern part of the mound and *Sector IIb* in the southeastern part of the terrace edge.

Sector I, triangle shaped, was entirely excavated over the campaigns conducted between 1971-1973, 1975-1977 and 1979. In this area were 22 trenches[40] and a small trench (*A*)[41], the area investigated being over 1.262 sq meters. In *Sector II* were excavated only two trenches, namely *Trench no. VIIA/1975*, in *Sector IIb Trench no. IA/1984* and a small additional trench (*C*)[42]. *Cassette B*[43] was made in the *IIa* sector's subdivision, parallel with *Trench no. I*, at the north-western end of the *dava*. The entire researched area totaled 176 sq meters.

First Gorgana

At about 450 meters downstream from *Second Gorgana* is another terrace edge which was severely affected by the works made for the Danube-Bucharest Canal (Figs. 1 and 14). Here, a significant amount of earth was excavated and used for the Argeş River right side embankment. We believe that the mound was destroyed more than 5/6, especially after

[33] Regarding the term "*gorgană*", see Morintz, Schuster 2004, 27 with lit.

[34] Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 5; Schuster, Şerbănescu 2007, 245.

[35] Radovanu micro zone belongs to eastern Burnas Plain. For further information concerning the respective geographical unit see: Basarabeanu, Bordânc, Vlăsceanu 2005, 243 ff.

[36] The altitude above sea level is 50 m (*Second Gorgana*), 53 m (First *Gorgana*) respectively.

[37] The *3D* model of the *Second Gorgana* was also made, see Morintz, Schuster 2004, 50 f. and pl. XXXV-XXXVII; Schuster, Morintz, Chelmec 2005.

[38] Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 6 and fig. 2.

[39] Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 6 and fig. 2.

[40] Şerbănescu 1998: *Trenches I/1971* (78.00 x 1.50 m), *II/1971* (34.50 x 1.50 m), *III/1972* (26.00 x 2.00 m), *IV/1972-1973* (24.00 x 2.00 m), *V/1972* (25.00 x 2.00 m), *VI/1973* (35.60 x 2.00 m), *VII/1973* (23.00 x 2.00), *VIII/1973* (23.00 x 2.00 m), *IX/1975* (21.00 x 2.00 m), *X/1975* (33.00 x 2.00 m), *XI/1976* (33.00 x 2.00 m), *XII/1976* (16.00 x 2.00 m), *XIII/1976* (13.00 x 2.00 m), *XIV/1976* (34.50 x 2.00 m), *XV/1977* (33.00 x 2.00 m), *XVI/1977* (34.00 x 2.00 m), *XVI/1977* (34.00 x 2.00 m), *XVII/1977* (28.00 x 2.00 m), *XVIII/1979* (10.00 x 2.00 m), *XIX/1979* (24.00 x 2.00 m), *XX/1979* (8.00 x 2.00 m), *F/1976* (32.00 x 3.00 m). Outliers between *Trenches nos. X*, *XV* and *XVI* were dismanteled in their southern area, creating thus *Trench E*. Cf. Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, fig. 2.

[41] *Cassette A* (4.00 x 2.00 m) was outlined parallel to *Trench no. I*, at the northwestern border of the site, see Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, fig. 2.

[42] Şerbănescu 1998: *Trenches nos. VIIA/1975* (36.00 x 2.00 m) and *IA/1984* (41.00 x 2.00 m) and *cassettes* (5.00 x 2.00), cf. Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, fig. 2.

[43] It was 4.00 x 3.00 m. See Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, fig. 2.

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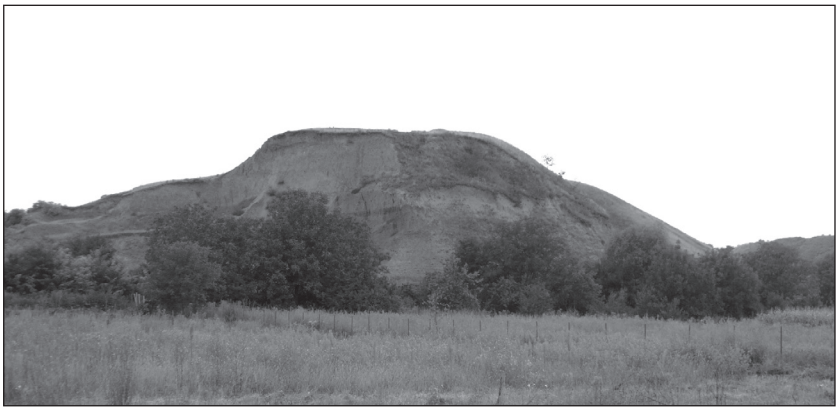

Fig. 14. Radovanu – *First Gorgana* (foto Gh. Celmec).

analyzing and comparing older maps with villagers' oral information. Unfortunately, due to natural erosion and rainfall, landslide phenomena are inevitable, still affecting the site's integrity.

Barbu Ionescu undertook small-scale excavations[44] also on the *First Gorgana*, leaving traces noticed through our investigations made in 2008-2009[45]. In 1988 Eugen Comşa practiced a mechanized stratigraphic excavation in the mound's area spared by the Danube-Bucharest Canal works, sectioning the defense bank over a width of about 4.00 m[46].

The archaeological campaigns from 2004 to 2009

Second Gorgana

Starting with the year 2004 researches at Radovanu were resumed in *Sector II* area[47] (Fig. 3). The excavation technique was the same as the one practiced in the past, through different length and 2.00 meters wide trenches. The investigations reached the sterile ground/ earth in some trenches, its depth ranging between 1.30-1.55 m. In those trenches where Late Bronze Age complexes were found, whether domestic huts or residual pits / holes, the depth reached was 3.16 m.

Investigations from 2004-2008 period led to the conclusion that the Getic stratum belonging to the first two levels (*II* and *I*) had a thickness of generally 0.90 to 1.05 m towards the inner edge and versus the current northwestern-southeastern edge, which becomes thinner, until it reaches 0.45 m[48].

The Late Bronze Age was represented in *Sector II* by a much thinner layer than in *Sector I* especially in the northeastern edge of sector *IIb* subdivision. As *Trench no. XXIII/2004* documented, the thickness reached 0.20m.

The archaeological material belonging to the Getic period was quite abundant[49]. The Getic pottery was diverse, almost all vessel shapes corresponding to the repertory of the classic period being represented. The most frequent forms found are: jars, the so-called rush-light cups, the Dacian fruit bowls shaped by hand which sometimes have fretted leg, wheel-shaped fruit bowls, clay colanders, lids, Getic relief decorated

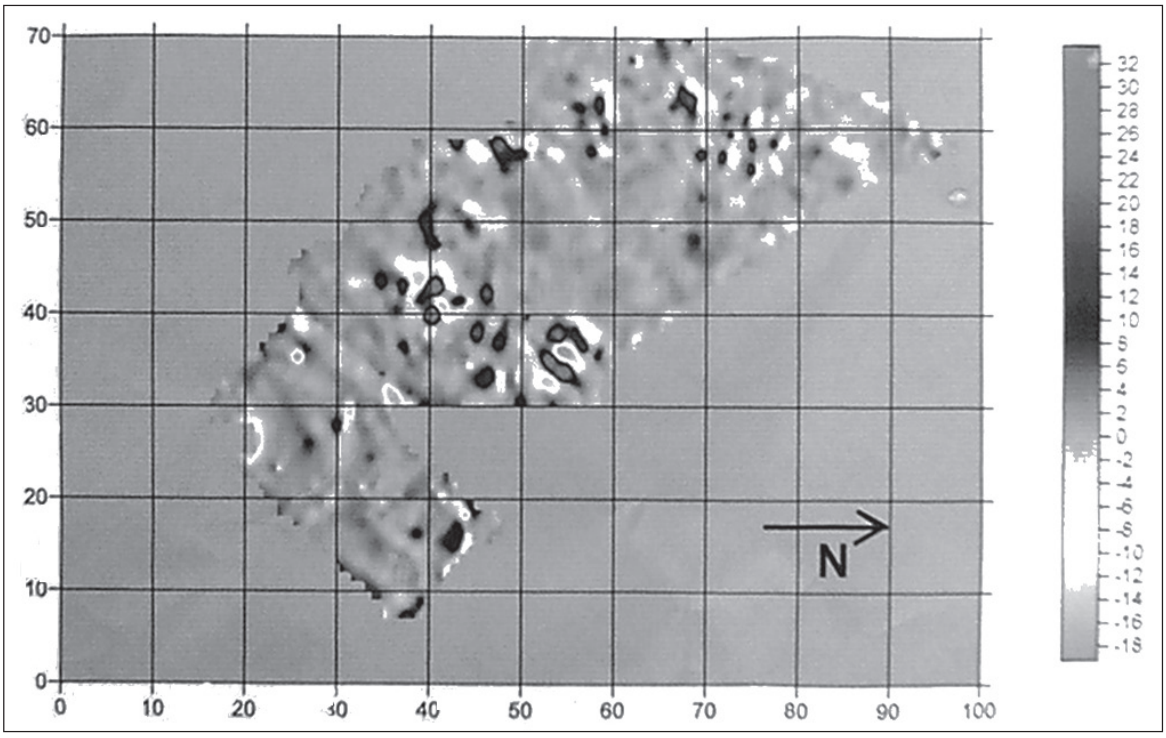

Fig. 3. Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*. Magnetometric map measurements (D. Monsees).

[44] Information on this subject is equally missing as the one from *Second Gorgana.*

[45] Barbu Ionescu made a small survey (1.00 m width, 0.65 m depth) precisely on the bank's arch.

[46] Comşa 1989.

[47] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2005.

[48] Previous excavations showed that the Getic level thickness from *Sector I* was of about 0.90-1.00, cf. Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, 6.

[49] We will take it into consideration with another occasion. The animal bone remains were brought into our colleague's attention, Georgeta El Susi (El Susi 2009).

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bowls, fragments of local produced *amphorae*.

Import Hellenistic products consist mainly of Cos, Pseudocos, Heracleea Pontica type *amphorae* or from other unidentified production centers, fragments of relief decorated bowls or other reduced dimension vessels.

2004 Campaign

In *IIa Sector* area were initially outlined two trenches, *no. XXI* and *XXII* (Fig. 3). These were disposed in parallel with *Trench no. VIIA*[50], perpendicular on the promontory's eastern edge. An outlier of 1.00 m was left among them. Each trench was 32.00 m long and 2.00 m wide. A third surface, *Trench no. XXIII*, 33.00 m, long and 4.00 m wide, was opened in *IIb Sector,* southeast from the other two trenches (Fig. 3).

These trenches revealed the fact that on the actual northwestern-southeastern side of the Getic settlement there are no traces of the ditch with *U* shaped profile, detected by the earlier excavations in the southern side[51].

If it existed in ancient times also on this northwest-southeast side, it was destroyed due to landslides frequent and visible today in the area, directly on the ground, but also easily discernible by studying the aerial and satellite photographs.

2005 Campaign

In this year's campaign the investigation of some complexes identified in *Trenches nos. XXI-XXII* from 2004[52] was continued. Along with the above mentioned trenches was outlined *Trench no. XXV* (Fig. 3), its purpose being to offer a more understandable image of the houses partially investigated in the previous year. Excavated in *IIa Sector* also, this trench was placed 1.00 m. northwest from the *Trench no. XXI,* and had a length of 34.00 and a width of 2.00 m. The research continued in *Trench no. XXIII*, but this one turned out to be not so rich in complexes.

2006 Campaign

The 2006 campaign's aim was the investigation of first Getic level's layer[53]. Starting with that year the trench-system investigation applied at Radovanu – *Second Gorgana* was replaced by the research on larger areas in order to identify better the layout model and spatial arrangement of the structures/ constructions found in previous campaigns. Thus, 12 cassettes were placed one meter away, north of *Trench no. XXV,* numbered from *A* to *L*, of which 111 had the dimension of 16 sq meters (meaning 4.00 x 4.00 m) and one of them had only 12 sq meters (3.00 x 4.00 m) because of a ravine. Taking into consideration the waved surface of the respective mound area, the maximum depth reached was -0.98 m.

2007 Campaign

In that year *Surfaces M-Q* were opened. They all had a 16 sq meters extent and were placed along with the ones outlined in previous campaigns[54]. Because of the collapsed terrain, the depth reached was different, the maximum depth reached being -0.53 m.

2008 Campaign

Seven surfaces (*R-Z*) were made, placed at a distance of 1.00 m west of the surfaces made in previous years[55]. Such cassettes had also the 4.00 x 4.00 m dimensions. Their purpose was the same as in *Surfaces A-Q*, the research of the second Getic level. The maximum depth of -0.76 m was reached.

An interesting situation was revealed by *Surface no. 1*, opened in the settlement's northwestern area. In this surface the archaeological materials were revealed after only few centimeters, unlike the other surfaces excavated in *IIa Sector,* in which the materials were uncovered at the depth of -0.30-0.40 m.

2009 Campaign

Due to financial impossibility, in 2009 we did not carry out excavations on *Second Gorgana.* Instead, the American team of the interdisciplinary international project Radovanu microregion (Christine J. Markussen[56] and John Crary[57]) undertook another series of magnetometric prospections. The result was a set of maps made in various graphic systems which offered new valuable information for the future campaigns, but mostly validated earlier measurements[58].

First Gorgana

2007 Campaign

In this year's campaign was embanked the profile of the trench outlined by Eugen Comşa[59] in 1988 through the defense bank. On this occasion his observations have been confirmed, thus the Getic defense bank had an average width of 12 and a maximum height of 2.34 m (Fig. 15). The bank's remaining part has a horseshoe shape with a length of about 40 m.

The analysis of the defense bank profile suggests there is a layer of brown soil in the outer western edge, which probably comes from the

[50] Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, fig. 2.

[51] Şerbănescu 1985, 21 f. and fig. 2. It is supposed that the ditch circled the settlement during the first phase of the Getic level. Later, during the second Getic phase, the palisade was dismantled and the ditch covered, most likely in order to gain space or for other reasons. The ditch identified in *Sector I* by *Trenches nos. I*, *XIV*, *XVII* and *XIX* and in *Sector IIb* by *Trench no. IA,* was around 3.20-3.80 m deep and 3.75 to 4.20 m. wide. The field information is not sufficient for us to say if there was also a bank or a palisade.

[52] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2006.

[53] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2007.

[54] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2008.

[55] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2009.

[56] Christine J. Markussen, *EnviroSystems Manegements Inc.*, United States of America.

[57] John Crary, *ArchaeCommunity Foundation*, United States of America.

[58] An early way of putting these into value along with previous observations was the poster presented in 2010 in Granada, Spain, during *Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeoloy*. See Markussen, Morintz, Monsees 2010.

[59] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2008, 248.

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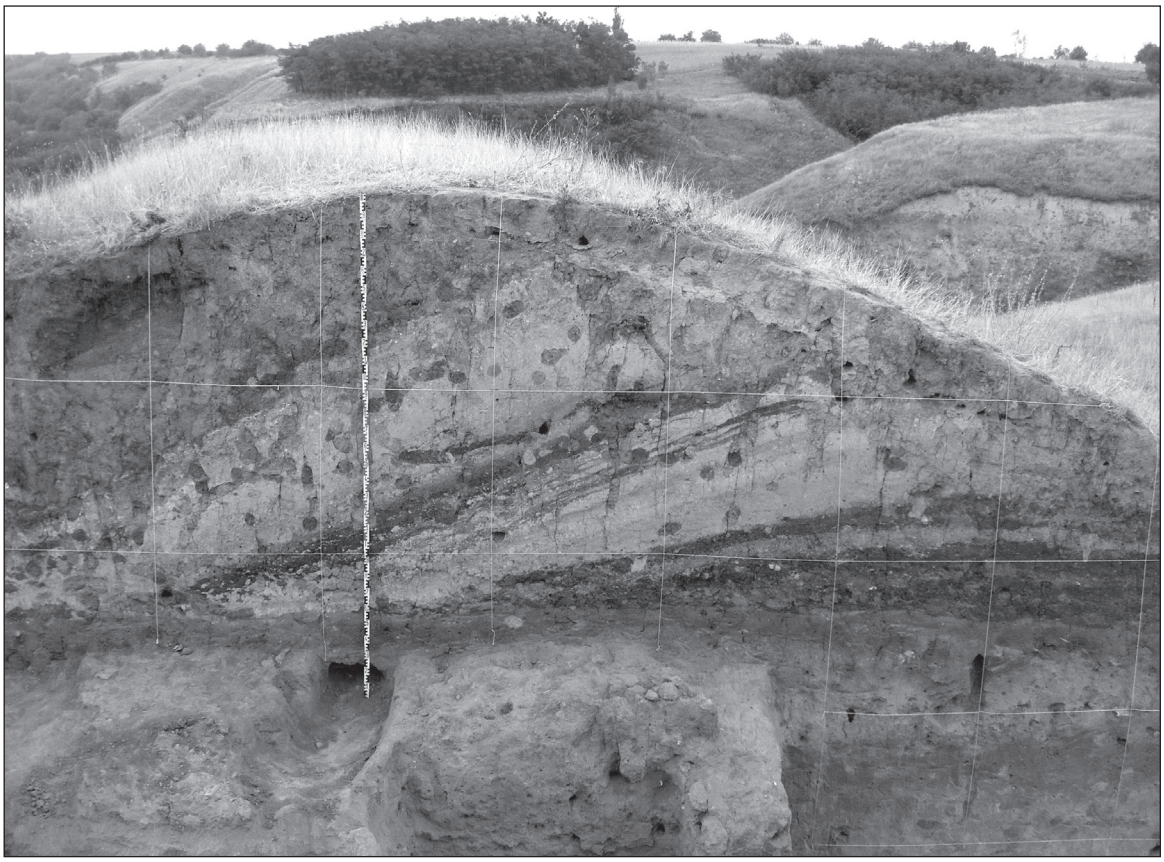

Fig. 15. Radovanu − *First Gorgana*: The Getic *vallum* and defending ditches (photo by A. Nălbitoru).

defense ditch. This is followed by other thick layers of yellow gluey clay which in case of humidity becomes compact.

A parapet made of stone blocks was placed at the edge of the bank, towards the fortified enclosure. It had a not very deep foundation which served, most probably, for the strengthening of the earth bank. In time, the stone parapet was disaffected and as a result, on the researched surface scattered stones were found in a direction following the bank's course/ trajectory.

An alignment of several surfaces (all with dimensions of 4 x 4 m) was designed for a better understanding of the situation inside the fortified enclosure and of the defense ditches west of the bank, on the east-west direction, in parallel with Eugen Comşa's section.

The remains of the stone parapet which strengthened the earth bank were identified at a depth of -0.70-0.90 m, in a cassette made in *Surface C* placed inside the enclosure, which included the bank's lower part.

The stones were scattered as a proof that this construction had been disaffected during the existence of the Getic settlement fortification bank.

Few Eneolithic (Gumelnița culture), Getic and Bronze Age ceramic fragments, were gathered in *Surface J,* located west of the settlement between the two defense ditches from outside the enclosure, under the vegetal layer at a depth of -0.05-0.15 m.

2008 Campaign

The defense bank investigations were continued[60]. Two prehistoric layers were identified at its base, at a 2.34 m depth (measured from the bank's ridge). The first one, of about 0.07-0.10 m thick and right under the Getic construction belongs to Cernavodă I culture. The second one, more substantial (0.15-0.25 m) consists of archaeological materials attributed to Gumelnița culture. Traces of a Gumelnița dwelling were noticed just bellow the bank's center. The house's remains, as well as in the Cernavodă I layer, were perforated by an inhumation grave with the skeleton extended on the back oriented in an approximately north-south direction.

2009 Campaign

All attention was focused in 2009 on the identification of the *davae*'s entire fortification system. In order to accomplish that, an east-west oriented trench of 50.00 x 2.00 m (Fig. 16) was outlined. This was placed perpendicular on all defense ditches surrounding the *dava.* This trench is a continuation of the one started by Eugen Comşa in 1988.

It was noticed that the defense bank had 14.40 m at its basis and not 12 as it was originally believed. Its height is 2.40 m. The *Defense ditch no. 1*, in *U* shape, with a width of 3.30 m and a depth of 2.55 m is located in the bank's western part, at its basis.

Then the second defense ditch (*Defense ditch no. 2*) which was researched, was placed at a distance of 3.20 m towards the first one. This one has the superior part's opening of 4.50 m and the depth of 2.20 m; it is also *U* shaped. The two ditches have a

[60] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2009, 180.

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circular configuration and follow closely the bank's course.

About 7 meters west of the *Defense ditch no. 2* a third fortification ditch was noticed (*Defense ditch no. 3*) with the width of 5 m and the depth of 2.20 m. This ditch belongs to the Getic period and it is also *U* shaped. Its route forms however a wider circle and includes in its enclosure a small hill located near the settlement. Also, the ditch's edges are holding on the abrupt coast/bank from east of the *dava*.

Magnetometric prospection undertaken by Christine Markussen and John Crary focused on the above mentioned small hill located northwest of the settlement and protected by the *Defense ditch no. 3*. Several perturbations have been observed, the next step being the verification in the field through subsequent campaign excavations.

Fig. 16. Radovanu − *First Gorgana*: The Getic *vallum* (photo by A. Nălbitoru).

The terrace behind the two *davae*

2009 Campaign

The defense *Ditch no. 4* with the superior width of 5.00 m was found also in the stratigraphic trench outlined at 2.80 m from the third fortification ditch. This ditch is placed precisely on the terrace edge right where the grape wine plantations are. Identification of three logs placed on the very bottom of the ditch suggests in the current stage of the investigation the existence of a possible palisade.

From the analysis of aerial and satellite photographs this ditch comes out as having a different route than the other three previously described ditches. It forms a circle on the grape wine terrain. We cannot estimate yet to which chronologic or cultural phase such ditch belonged.

A housing complex (surface dwelling) belonging to Late Bronze Age, Tei III culture was identified in the small surface of the terrace researched until the grape wine plantation, at a depth of 0.30 m to 0.50 m. On the terrace edge, meaning in its eastern extremity, the large scale trench permitted the detection of an area, not a layer as such, which was interpreted as belonging to Cernavodă I culture, after the Eneolithic archaeological materials. It could represent the rest of a complex.

Southeast of *First Gorgana*, a terrace ridge can be seen, separated from a valley, with an advantageous position in the landscape. This point was previously field researched by Barbu Ionescu, Sebastian Morintz and Done Şerbănescu. Random archaeological materials attributed to Getic civilization and Middle Iron Age / Hallstatt (Basarabi culture) were collected from the ridge surface. Magnetometric measurements / prospection did not mark out any anomalies which would attest the existence of any archaeological complexes.

Thus, our presumption that on this terrace could have been an observation tower or another Getic structure turned out to be false.

Attempts of experimental archaeology

First experimental archaeology proceedings at Radovanu[61] were undertaken during 2007-2008, along the archaeological researches carried out on the two *davae*. A domestic oven was reconstituted and also fire hearths of stone and clay layers.

About the Getic constructions / structures

Surface houses

After the 2004 excavations five Getic surface constructions were investigated[62]. We refer to *Houses nos. 20-24*, found in *Trenches nos. XXI-XXII.* The *House no. 25* remains were documented in *Trench no. XXIII.* Because of the trench excavation method but also of the dwellings type (without stake holes observable in the field) it was difficult to establish the complexes' exact dimensions.

All these houses belonged to the second Getic level. They were trellis-worked in traditional system. Their structure is composed of poles fixed into the ground, the space between those poles being filled with reed or vertically arranged twigs over which on both sides of the wall was placed a mixture of clay and chopped straw. These walls with a thickness over 0.20 m were then smoothed with a layer of clay thin of 0.03/ 0.05 m and later were dyed. The poles, reed and twigs prints, which formed the walls internal structure, can still be seen on the recovered adobe fragments (Figs. 7-8).

It must be noted that the area on which the new houses were raised was previously prepared by the addition of a yellow clay leveling layer (with a thickness which varied between 0.04 and 0.07 m). The dwellings' floor was made of beaten and leveled clay. Dimensions of these houses could not be determined exactly, for above mentioned reasons.

All researched surface constructions were abandoned after having been destroyed by fire.

[61] Mecu, Nălbitoru 2009.

[62] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2005, 287.

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Fig. 4. Radovanu − *Second Gorgana*. Getic House no. 26 (photo by C. Schuster).

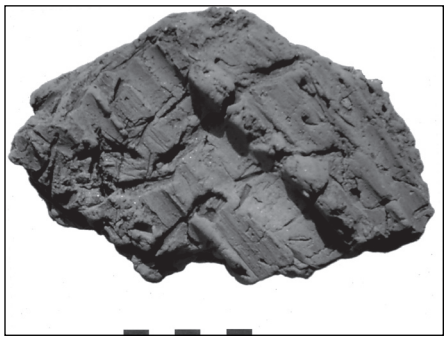

Fig. 7. Radovanu − *Second Gorgana*. Adobe (photo by Gh. Chelmec).

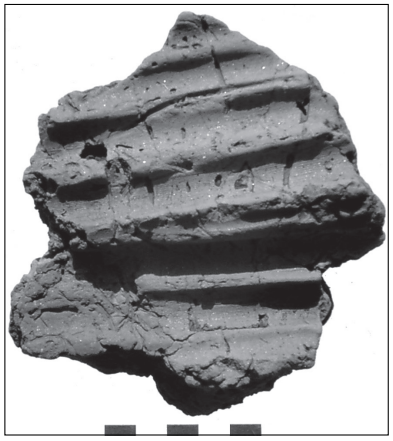

Fig. 8. Radovanu − *Second Gorgana*. Adobe (photo by Gh. Chelmec).

Vessels remaining broken and found *in situ*, a partially buried ewer (with a 1.20 m diameter, found in *House no. 25* from *Trench no. XXIII)*, grinders, weights, spindle whorls and metal, stone, bone and horn tools and objects, also silver and bronze coins, were descovered in the remains of the houses.

Trench no. XXV/2005 allowed the identification of three houses' remains (*House no. 23*, found for the first time in *Trench no. XXI* and *Houses nos. 26* and *27*) which were attributed to the second Getic level[63]. The houses built in the trellis-work traditional system had daubed walls tinkered with a yellowish substance.

An accumulation of river stones was found in *Houses nos. 21* and *23*, without knowing their meaning. Important observations were made regarding the manner in which was prepared the area on which *House no. 26* was built. In the first stage, the debris from former structures was removed, and then the terrain was leveled with a yellow clay layer 0.10-0.15 m thick, over which a daubed floor with a thick layer of 0.03-0.05 m was formed.

The remains of another house *(no. 28)* were observed in the northern edge of *Trench no. XXIII.* Still we must mention that the thickness of the layer containing archaeological material, spread on a relatively small area (oval, with the maximum diameter of 2.32 m), was less consistent (adobe lumps with a maximum length of 0.05 m), which led us to consider this construction as being an eventual annex, and not a house.

The research method consisting of excavating larger surfaces used at Radovanu – *Second Gorgana* and which continued in 2006, allowed a better investigation and understanding of *Houses nos. 26* and *27,* previously identified in the former campaign[64].

We believe that the last of the mentioned complexes, east-west oriented, was rectangular after the way in which its burnt remains were spread (in oval shape, with the maximum width of 3.67 m and a maximum length of 5.18 m).

The second dwelling, *House no. 26*, (Fig. 4) presented also an oval shape of the scattered materials, was orientated the same as the previous construction, and had the fire hearth in its north-eastern part. An array of stake holes which might have probably supported a shelf was detected in *A* and *B Surfaces*, in which the remains of the dwelling were also noticed. The holes were placed not far from the fire installation and had a 0.05 diameter.

The remains of a third surface construction *(House no. 14*) were identified in *Surfaces E* and *F*. This dwelling's western side was investigated by Sebastian Morintz and Done Şerbănescu in earlier campaigns[65]. The house was north-south orientated, rectangular, its remains being scattered over a surface of 10.00 x 4.50 m. A small wall fragment was identified in the north-eastern part of the construction, 0.31 m long and around 0.03-0.04 m thick.

It is assumed this was a separating wall, given its position (northwest-southeast oriented) inside the building. *Houses nos. 28* and *29*[66] were found in *Surfaces O*, *Q* and *P*, opened in 2007. These were surface constructions belonging to the second Getic level, as well as the ones identified in the previous years. The first house appeared as a big agglomeration of stones, floor fragments and adobe fragments with wattle prints coming from the walls. The floor pieces were from 0.07 to 0.10 m thick. This complex's maximum dimensions (east-west oriented) were 12.05 m length and 6.60 m height.

[63] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2006, 279.

[64] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2007, 285 f.

[65] *House no. 14* was observed in *Trenches nos. I*, *XVIII* and *XX,* and in two cassettes (*A* and *B*) disposed in parallel with *Trench no. 1*. Cf. Morintz, Şerbănescu 1985, fig. 2.

[66] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2008, 247.

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House no. 29 was severely disaffected by the antrophic interventions (plowing and grape wine planting). The house could not be exactly measured because of the archaeological material dispersion. This construction could have been an annex and not a house.

Investigations undertaken in 2008 led to the identification of a large surface dwelling belonging to the same second Getic level[67], in *R*, *S*, *U* and *V Surfaces.* The *House no. 30* (Fig. 5), east-west oriented was measured after the material's dispersion. Thus, the dimensions are 13.40 x 8.62 m. Several pieces (max. thickness of 0.08 m) of the well-beaten yellow clay floor were identified in the south-east side of a fire installation.

The remains of two surface dwellings (*Houses nos. 10* and *11*)[68] were discovered also in *Sector II,* in *Trench no. VIIA* during former excavations. They were partially in-vestigated. Both were east-west oriented. *House no. 10* had a length of 6.50 m and *House no. 11* was 10.00 m long.

The dwellings researched until now in *Sector II* had a general east-west orientation, the only exception being *House no. 14* which was north-south oriented. It seems that we cannot speak about a rule considering the houses orientation in the case of Radovanu – *Second Gorgana dava*.

In the *First Sector*, a part of the complexes were arranged north-south (*Houses nos. 1*, *5*, *9*, *12*, *13* etc.), and others east-west (*Houses nos. 2*, *4*, *15*, *16*). We find significant that the *House no. 14* with its north-south orientation guards / protects the easiest access way to the settlement's entrance. The most accessible entrance path to the plateau is today still the same. Moreover, both previous and recent excavations showed in that area, gatherings of river stones, which, very likely, in ancient times was a paved road.

It is hard to tell if all surface constructions were used as houses. Perhaps most of them were, but others certainly had a different role, such as goldsmith workshops (*House no. 1*) or sanctuaries (*House no. 29*). Both structures were found in *Sector I* area[69]. *House no. 29*, found also in Sector *II*, showed different characteristics: a special type of fire-installation (hearths/ altars) was discovered.

The statements made in the 1985 article regarding the houses from Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*[70] are still available after the 2004-2008 investigations. All complexes of this type of the Getic II level proved to be raised at the ancient ground level. The construction technique, the used materials, the habit of "*cleaning*" before raising a new house and providing the dwellings with one or more than one fire-hearths, all these are Getic construction rules. Stones are missing

Fig. 5. Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*. Getic House no. 30 (photo by C. Schuster).

from the materials used in the dwellings' structure. They should have been included in the houses walls. Actually, Radovanu area as well as Muntenia's area is insufficient in this kind of raw material. The question that can be asked instead is if the houses were covered with reed or straw only, or whether the *Getae* used tiles, documented in both settlements' sectors.

The 2007 *First Gorgana*'*s* excavations identified the remains of a Getic surface construction (noted *House no. 1*)[71] at a -0.50 m depth, in the *Surfaces A* and *B* (each with 4 x 4 m dimensions and an outlier of 1.00 m between them), placed in the fortification's eastern area. It had the shape of an assembly of burnt adobe debris with wattle and stick prints, ceramic fragments, stones and animal bones. The construction's orientation was east-west and the archaeological material scattered in oval form had a maximum 2.34 x 4.60 m dimension. The dwelling was most likely rectangular, without a fire installation.

If we consider the construction technique, the used materials, the structures' dimensions and interior arrangements, we can conclude that the researched surface houses from Radovanu – *First Gorgana* and *Second Gorgana* fit in the Geto-Dacian period's characteristic model practiced in Muntenia.

Thus, upstream the Argeş River, the remains of a small scale surface construction were found at Mironeşti-*Conacul lui Palade* (*House no. 1*, with the perimeter dimensions of 1.34 x 2.63 m)[72]. The complex was raised in the same traditional manner, had a beaten clay floor, wattle and daub walls with adobes and was provided with combustion installation. The traces of another dwelling, much larger, were documented also at Mironeşti-*Coastă*[73].

Northwest of Mironeşti, in the *dava* type settlement from Popeşti-*Nucet* (Giurgiu County) were researched a series of surface houses, all constructed

[67] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2009, 180.

[68] Şerbănescu 1998.

[69] Şerbănescu 1985, 22 and fig. 3/1-4.

[70] Şerbănescu 1985, 22.

[71] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2008, 248.

[72] Schuster, Popa 2008, 33 and pl. VII/2.

[73] Sîrbu, Schuster, Popa 1997, 240 f. and fig. 3/2; Schuster, Popa 2008, 25 f. and pl. II/C3L1.

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with wooden beams and daubed wattle[74]. Most of these structures had reed and straw roofs, but unlike other Geto-Dacian sites from Southeast Romania, here were used also tiles, local Greek imitations[75]. Some constructions, the larger ones, were integrated in "*the palace*" of an important person/ elite whose residence was at Popeşti[76].

The dwelling of 8 x 7 m near the "*palace*" needs to be mentioned, as well as the one 7 x 6 m (believed to have been a "*kitchen*"), another of 5 x 6 m and the "*storage area*" of 5 x 5 m[77]. Also other dwellings for example (*House no. 1)* in *Trench Π* (about 8 x 5 m)[78] proved to be relatively big as well.

The uncovering of significant surfaces of the *dava*, permitted Nona Palincaş[79] to bring forth the hypothesis that the settlement's interior had been allotted. In the same way, it was observed that, as a kind of rule, near a construction an outbuilding had been built.

Several surface dwellings[80], without exact dimensions, were investigated at Giurgiu-*Malu Roşu*. In Greaca-Prundu area (Giurgiu County), 16 surface constructions were discovered, all rectangular shaped[81].

In Schitu-*Gaura Despei* location (Giurgiu County), along Neajlov River, two surface rectangular houses were researched[82], both northeast-southwest orientated and having slightly round edges. The first one (*House no. 1*) had a materials' dispersion area of 1.83 x 1.10, and *House no. 2* of 2.05 x 0.95 m.

The rectangular complex unearthed at Bila-*La Fântână* was orientated north-south, its remains being scattered over a surface of 1.70 x 0.86 m[83].

In the Bucharest area, the *Dudeşti* point, *House no. 2* having a rectangular shape and 3.50 x 3 m dimensions was researched[84]. Rectangular also, with dimensions about 5 x 4 m, as *House no. 8* seems to indicate, were probably surface houses from *Cățelu Nou*[85].

In Căscioarele-Greaca-Prundu area can be found several locations with Getic vestiges. Thus, in the place called *Şuvița Hotarului* were researched the remains of a few surface dwellings[86]. Although these places were only partially investigated, all evidence indicates that their shape was rectangular. Also, some were larger (up to 8 m long) with the entrance from the southern part and some with the fire-hearth placed on the northern side. The houses discovered in *Suharna* point were both rectangular and oval[87]. Most likely, the five houses from *Valea Coşarului* were also rectangular[88]. In *La Slom* point was investigated a single rectangular dwelling with round edges and 3.60 meters long[89]. The house from *Valea Fântânilor, House no. 4*, turned out to be not too large (about 1.60 x 1.50 m)[90]. The dimensions of the six constructions located at *La Stână* could not be determined with precision[91]. It is plausible to think that they were also rectangular, perhaps some even with round corners, such as *House no. 1*. At *Cătălui*[92], *House no. 4* was rectangular (with a 4.60 m length) such as *House no. 10* (with a 7.65 length). The shape and dimensions of *Houses nos. 3*, *5* and *6* could not be determined yet.

A series of surface dwellings were discovered in the Vlădiceasca-*Ghergălăul Mare* settlement. Thus, the remains of several rectangular (*House no. 1* = 5.00 x 3.00 m; *House no. 6* = 3.45 x 3.00 m; *House no. 7* = 4.15 x 3.15 m; *House no. 12* = 2.35 x 2.75 m; *House no. 14* = 2.60 x 4.35 m; *House no. 15* = 3.00 x 2.75 m), rhombic (*House no. 2* = around 2.50 x 2.10 m), trapezium-shaped (*House no. 11* = 3.00-4.60 x 3.90-4.50 m) and parallelogram shaped (*House no. 8* = 3.95 x 3.75 m) structures were researched in 1973[93]. *House no. 10*, totally excavated, had trapezium shape (4.20-2.90 x 4.15 m)[94]. *Houses nos. 21* and *22* were bigger, with the dimensions of about 10.50 x 8.00 m.

The 1975 Campaign allowed the investigation of other surface constructions[95]. *House no. 5* had a trapezium-shape (2.80-4.25 x 3.50 m), same as *Houses nos. 24* (3.75-4.25 x 3.70-4.50 m), *25* (2.70 x 3.00-4.00 m), *27* (3.60-4.35 x 4.15 m), *28* (2.50-3.00 x 2.85 m), *33* (2.60-3.40 x 3.25 m), *41* (4.35 m long) and *43* (3.40-4.25 x 5.40 m); *House no. 18* was rhombic. *Houses nos. 8* (3.00-3.15 x 2.55-3.20), *13* (3.20 x 4.00 m), *16* (3.50 x 4.50 m), *17* (3.15 x 4.50 m), *19* (3.65 x 5.50 m), *23* (3.40 x 4.00 m), *29* (2.70 x 3.80 m), *30* (5.80 x 7.35 m), *31* (4.85 x 5.45 m), *32* (2.50 x 3.75 m), *34* (3.70 x 4.80 m), *36* (with the length of 4.00 m), *37* (with a length of 4.30 m), *39* (with a length of 3.10 m) and *40* (4.55 x 6.10 m) were all rectangular. Also rectangular was *House no. 38,* with the mention that on its western side had a small oval apse (1.00 x 1.25 m). *House no. 42* turned out to be pentagonal, *House no. 45* almost square-shaped (4.00 x 3.80 m), and *Houses nos. 46* (3.80 x 2.90 m), *48* (5.50 x 3.50 m), *49* (3.70 x 2.80 m), *53* (5.00 x 3.00 m), *54* and *56*

[74] Vulpe R. 1966, 30 f.

[75] Vulpe R. 1966, 31 and fig. 20/a.

[76] Vulpe R. 1966, 31 and figs. C and 8, 10, 21.

[77] Vulpe R. 1966, 33 and fig. 22.

[78] Trohani 1997, 200 f.

[79] Palincaş 1997, 183.

[80] Popa 1995, 10; Păunescu, Alexandrescu 1997, 16 f.

[81] Sîrbu *et alii* 1996.

[82] Sîrbu, Schuster, Popa 1997, 239; Schuster, Popa 2009, 29 and pl. XII/ L1-L2.

[83] Sîrbu, Schuster, Popa 1997, 240 and fig. 4/2; Schuster, Popa 2009, 36 and pl. XVI/L1.

[84] Turcu 1976, 45.

[85] Leahu 1963, 30; Leahu 1965, 58.

[86] Sîrbu, Damian 1996a, 20 ff.: *Houses nos. 1*, *2*, *3*, *4*, *8*, *9*, *10*, *12*, *13*, *15*, *17*, *18*.

[87] Sîrbu, Damian 1996b, 36 f.: rectangular=*Houses nos. 2* (with the length of 5.60 m) and *3*, oval = *House no. 1* (diam. = 2.50 x 2.10 m).

[88] Sîrbu, Damian 1996d, 56 f.: *Houses nos. 3*, *4*, *5*, *6* (actual dimensions = 2.50 x 1.25 m) and *7*.

[89] Sîrbu 1996c, 61.

[90] Sîrbu 1996d, 65.

[91] Sîrbu 1996e, 74 f.: *Houses nos. 1*, *2*, *3*, *6*, *7* and *9*.

[92] Cantacuzino, Trohani 1979, 265 ff.

[93] Trohani 1975b, 152 ff.

[94] Trohani 1987, 53.

[95] Trohani 1976, 87 ff.

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were rectangular[96]. The complexes *nos. 50* (6.40-4.00 x 5.00 m) and *52* (3.40x 3.10-2.40 m) were trapezium-shape.

The few houses that have been researched in Bragadiru area (Ilfov County)[97] showed their both ellipsoidal and rectangular shape. All complexes had reduced dimensions (for instance 4 x 3.25 m, 4.50 x 2.70 m).

At Grădiştea (Brăila County), 21 surface dwellings were investigated[98]. These were all rectangular and with dimensions of 12 to 20 sq meters. The construction technique and materials were not different from those at Radovanu.

Archaeological researches undertaken at Popina Borduşani (Ialomiţa County) facilitated the investigation of several dwellings dating from 2nd century BC (*Houses nos. 6*, *7*, *8*, *9*, *12* and *13*) – 1st century BC (*Houses nos. 1*, *2*, *3*, *4*, *5*, *10* and *11*)[99]. If for several constructions it was not possible to determine their dimensions, in the case of others it can be stated that they had substantial surfaces (for instance *House no. 2* = 7.50 x 8 m; *House no. 3* = 8.70 x 6.00 m).

In the well-known fortified settlement from Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu* (Constanţa County) a series of surface wooden houses, with reed and straw structure were attested by the big amount of burnt adobes and ash[100]. In this situation stones were also used (sandstone and limestone) even if not for raising the walls. The terrain where the houses were to be constructed (especially those belonging to the 3rd level) was previously leveled[101]. The houses had a rectangular shape and the floor was made of yellow clay. The dwellings' dimensions could not be generally established. The remains of a northeast-southwest oriented house belonging to level I were spread over a surface of 3.50 x 2.25 m[102].

Deepened houses

The extension of Eugen Comşa's trench which sectioned the Getic defense bank towards east led to the discovery of a Getic hut (*House no. 2*), inside the Getic enclosure from Radovanu – *First Gorgana*. The dwelling was provided with a domestic oven[103]. Considering the fact that in the mentioned area the complex is under ongoing research we cannot make any statement yet regarding the real dimensions of the structure.

Two huts were investigated in *Trench Π* from Popeşti – *Nucet*. The southern length of *House no. 2* was about 4.30 m. and the length on the northern side of *House no. 10* was 3.05 m[104]. Other huts were found from earlier researches[105].

In Giurgiu County also, near the County town residence, older excavations led to the identification of several huts, such as *Deepened House no. 1* with an oval shape and with a 12 sq meters surface[106].

A number of 15 such complexes were found near Radovanu, at the Chirnogi – *Rudărie* settlement[107]. These had different shapes: trapezium (*House no. 1* = max. Length of 4.20 x 3.10 m; *House no. 9* = max. length of 5.00 x 4.00 m), square (*House no. 2* = 5.20 x 5.20 m; *House no. 5* = aprox. 2.65 x 2.65 m; *House no. 13*), rectangular (*House no. 3* = 5.50 x 2.40 m; *House no. 4* = 5.80 x 3.30 m; *House no. 11* = 3.75 x 4.45 m; *House 17* = aprox. 3.70 x 3.00 m; *House no. 18* = 3.40 x 1.75 m; *House no. 20*) and pentagonal (*House no. 12*).

At *Şuviţa Hotarului*[108] from the Căscioarele-Greaca-Prundu horizon, a deepened house (*Deepened House no. 1*) was found. A severely damaged hut was detected also in *Coinea I* point[109]. The *Deepened House no. 1* from *La Slom* had round corners and was, again, rectangular shaped (with the length of 2.60 m)[110].

The *Deepened House no. 2* from *Cătălui* (6.40 x 3.40-3.08 m) had a trapezium shape[111]. *Deepened House no. 1* (with partially identified dimensions of 3.90 x 2.70 m) was rectangular, the same as *Deepened Houses nos. 7* (with a side long of 2.50 m), *8* (with a 2.38 length) and *9* (with a width of 2.30 m)[112]. Getic huts dating from 2nd to 1st centuries BC were identified in several points on Bucharest's surface.

At *Dudeşti* an almost square-shaped complex (3.00 x 2.80 m) with round corners was discovered[113]. More deepened dwellings were revealed at *Cățelu Nou* by previous excavations. The first four of them had different shapes and dimensions (*Deepened House no. 1* was rectangular with "*apse*"; *Deepened House no. 2* resembling a "*boomerang*"; *Deepened House no. 3* almost square shaped; *Deepened House no. 4* almost rhombic with round corners)[114].

Another four huts excavated in 1961, 1963-1964[115], were: *Deepened House no. 5* with rectangular shape, *Deepened House no. 6* eight-shaped, *Deepened House no. 7* with an irregular rhombic shape along with oval-shaped *Deepened House no. 8.* The underground dwelling from Bragadiru (Ilfov County) had the same shape[116]. The huts (*nos. 5*, *6* and *7*) from Tânganu (Ilfov County) settlement had a quadrilateral structure, all provided with fire-

[96] Trohani 1987, 53 f.

[97] Turcu 1981, 32.

[98] Sîrbu 1996a, 9 f.

[99] Trohani 2006, 11 ff.: *Houses nos. 1, 2*

[100] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 127.

[101] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 121.

[102] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 120.

[103] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2009, 180.

[104] Trohani 1997, 201 f.

[105] Vulpe A., Gheorghiţă 1979, 96, 98; Vulpe A., Gheorghiţă 1981, 60.

[106] Păunescu, Rădulescu, Ionescu 1962, 132.

[107] Trohani 1975a, 19 ff.; Trohani, Şerbănescu 1975, 275.

[108] Sîrbu, Damian 1996a, 20.

[109] Sîrbu, Damian 1996c, 41: *Deepened House no. 2*.

[110] Sîrbu 1996c, 61.

[111] Cantacuzino, Trohani 1979, 265 ff.

[112] Trohani, Şerbănescu 1975, 275.

[113] Turcu 1976, 45.

[114] Leahu 1963, 27 ff.

[115] Leahu 1965, 56 ff.

[116] Turcu 1979, 83.

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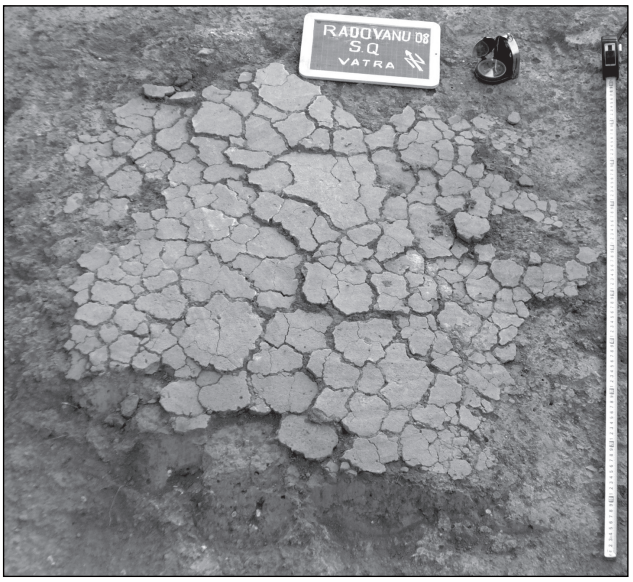

Fig. 9. Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*. Hearth from the Surface Q, IInd level (photo by L. Mecu).

installations[117]. Some huts discovered at Piscu Crăsani[118] were also quadrilateral, with round corners. A series of huts were found in the Vlădiceasca – *Ghergălăul Mare* settlement[119].

A number of similar structures were researched at Grădiştea (Brăila County) inside the *dava* type settlement. Most of them were oval (*Houses nos. 6*, *7*, *8*, *9*, *10*, *11*, *12*, *13*, *14*, *15* and *16*), round (*Houses nos. 2*, *4* and *5*) or rectangular with round corners (*Houses nos. 1* and *3*)[120]. The *House no. 8* was provided with a fire-hearth, *House no. 14* with an oven, and several other houses had entrance stairs. *Deepened Houses nos. 17* and *18,* especially the first one (oval, around 5.80 x 4.20 m) of considerable dimensions, had fire installations of domestic use and also access stairs[121].

Regarding their inventory, especially due to the anthropomorphous clay figurines, miniature vessels, fragments of human skull, horse skull (*House no. 17*), it is conceivable to think of a cult role (maybe not while its function was a habitation one, yet possibly after its abandonment).

Several deepened houses without determined dimensions were identified at Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu* (Constanța County)[122]. The same situation is encountered at Olteni[123] and Pietroşani[124] (Teleorman County).

About combustion instalations

Second Gorgana

Hearths

Exterior and interior fire hearths found in a series of dwellings were researched during 2004-2008 intervals. The hearths investigated were both exterior and interior, circular or rectangular, with 0.90 to 1.30 m diameters (*House no. 20* = 0.93 m; *House no. 21* = 0.94 m; *House 22* = 0.97 m; *House no.* 23 = 0.95 m; *House no. 24* = 1.00 m; *House no. 26* = 1.05 m; *House no. 28* = 1.43 m; *House no. 30* = 0.98 x 0.79 m). These were made of beaten clay or river stones (such as those from *Houses nos. 23* and *24*).

The hearth from *House no. 28* (Fig. 9), made exclusively of clay superposed another one, raised in the dwelling's first phase, made on a bed of clay (Fig. 10). This inferior hearth was also rectangular but was originally bigger (1.57 x 1.57 m).

The shape of the fire hearths at Popeşti-*Nucet dava* were mainly rectangular[125]. The case of *House no. 1* from *Trench Π* is very interesting. Here three superimposed hearths were found: the lower one was trapezium shaped (0.55-0.60 x 0.65-0.80 m), the middle one most likely rectangular (the northern side = 1.25-1.30 m) and the last, upper one also squared (the preserved length is 0.62 m) but unlike the others, this last one was decorated[126]. *Hearth no. 4,* made of clay was possibly interior[127], had a rectangular shape (0.82 x 0.72 m).

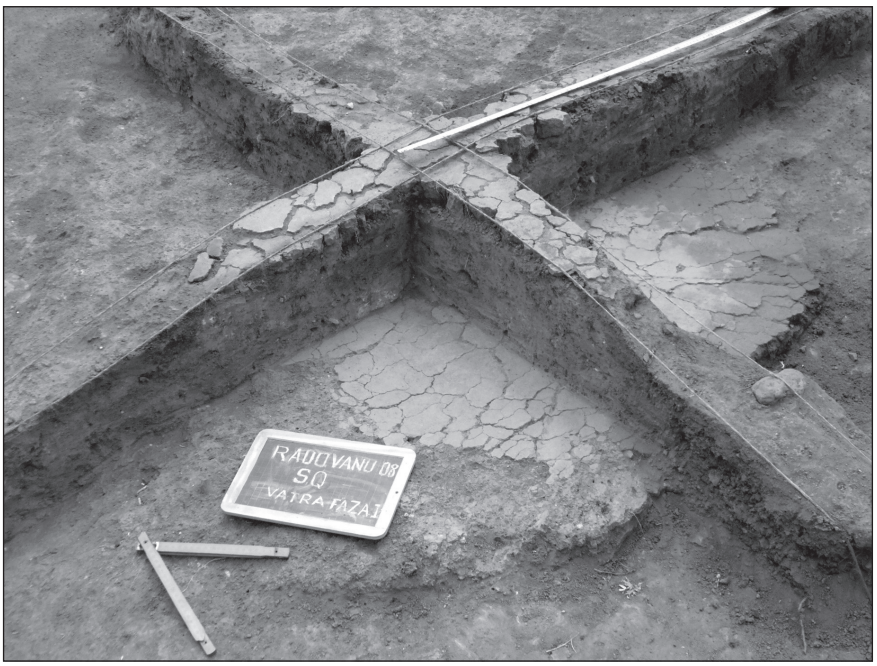

Fig. 10. Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*. Hearths from the Surface no. Q, IInd and I levels (photo by L. Mecu).

[117] Turcu 1965, 270.
[118] Turcu 1979, 83.
[119] Trohani 1987, 55.
[120] Sîrbu 1996a, 7 ff.
[121] Sîrbu 2004.
[122] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 127.
[123] Moscalu, Beda 1979a, 370.
[124] Moscalu, Beda 1979b, 380.
[125] Vulpe R. 1966, 34.
[126] Trohani 1997, 200 f.
[127] Trohani 1997, 201.

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Hearth no. 15 from *House no. 8* was oval with 1.35 x 1.00 m dimensions[128]. The shape and dimensions of the plane hearth found in *House no. 9, Hearth no. 17,* could not be established[129]. A series of exterior fire installations with domestic purpose were discovered at Popeşti – *Nucet*[130].

The remains of 12 hearths were noticed in *Trench Π*. Some of them had rectangular shape (*Hearth no. 11* = 0.80 x 0.60 m; *Hearth no. 16* = 0.70 x 0.44 m), some oval (*Hearth no. 13* = 1.05 x 0.90 m; *Hearth no. 18* = 1.40 x 0.80 m), trapezium shaped (*Hearth no. 14*) or square (*Hearth no. 19* = 1.20 x 1.20 m; *Hearth no. 23* = 1.00 x 1.00 m).

On the perimeter of *House no. 1* from Mironeşti-*Conacul lui Palade* was discovered *Hearth no. 1,* 80% preserved (max. dimensions: 1.00 x 0.80 m) which was raised over a bed of ceramic fragments along with an abundant animal bones material[131]. The hearth from Puranii de Sus (Teleorman County)[132] was similar to the previous one.

Circle shaped or oval were also the hearths found in Căscioarele-Greaca-Prundu horizon dwellings[133]. The diameters of those from *Şuviţa Hotarului* varied from 0.40 to 0.80 m (*Hearth nos. 3*, *4*, *7*). The exterior *Hearth no. 1*, raised on a plinth of stones found at *Suharna* had a 1.00 m diameter; instead, the round ones from the surface dwellings reached a diameter of 0.35 m, and the oval ones the dimension of 1.40 x 1.00 m[134]. The interior hearths from *Valea Coşarului* made exclusively by clay had round shape, as well as those made on a pebbles and sand support[135].

An oval shaped exterior hearth (*Hearth no. 1*) with the max. diameter of 0.68 m discovered at *Cătălui* had a chimb of about 0.06 m[136]. In Vlădiceasca – *Ghergălăul Mare* settlement were discovered both interior hearths (*Hearth no. 2* in *House no. 16*, almost square = 1.35 x 1.42 m; *Hearths nos. 3* and *4*, first one square – about 0.64 x 0.66 m – and decorated, the second oval = 0.80 x 1.05 m) and exterior hearths (*Hearth no. 1* = 0.75 x 0.90 m)[137]. All hearths identified during 1975 campaign were made exclusively of clay[138]: *Hearth no. 5* (*House no. 30*), *Hearth no. 6* (*House no. 18*), *Hearth no. 7* (*House no. 19*), *Hearth no. 8* (*House no. 24*), *Hearth no. 9* (*House no. 25*), *Hearth no. 10* (*House no. 35*), *Hearth no. 11* (*House no. 38*), *Hearth no. 12* (*House no. 40*), *Hearth no. 13* (*House no. 44*), *Hearth no. 14* (*House no. 41*), *Hearth no. 15* (*House no. 42*). Their shape was square (*Hearths nos. 5* = 0.75 x 0.75 m, *6*, *7* = 0.60 x 0.60 m, *11*, *13*, *14*), rhomboidal (*Hearths nos. 8*, *9*, *10* = 0.72 x 0.70 m, *12*) and rectangular (*Hearth no. 15*).

The *Hearth no. 16* found in *Deepened House no. 51* was trapezium shaped (0.35 x 0.30 m), *Hearth no. 17* from *House no. 62* was rhomboidal, *Hearth no. 18* from *House no. 53* was square (0.97 x 0.97 m) and decorated, *Hearth no. 19* from *House no. 54* oval (0.90 x 0.75 m), *Hearth no. 21* from *House no. 10* pentagonal (0.85 x 0.90 m), and *Hearth no. 22* from *House no. 42* triangle shaped[139].

Some of Bragadiru's surface houses were provided with fire hearths found in the northern-northwestern corners and raised directly on a clay stratum[140]. A part of the hearths found at Grădiştea[141] were identified inside deepened houses (*Houses nos. 1*, *4*, *8*, *9* and *14*) and inside surface houses (*Houses nos. 1*, *4*, *10*, *16* and *17*). Other hearths were exterior (*Hearths nos. 1-9*). They had an oval, round or trapezium shape and were made of stones (*Surface House no. 1*) or clay. Their dimensions were generally modest.

The three hearths from the 3rd house at Borduşani-*Popina* were, most likely, all rectangular[142]. The first one (0.90 x 0.77 m) was raised on a sand stratum, the second on a stone bed and the third one was raised directly on the floor (almost squared, fragmentized = 0.80 m). The second one had a chimb. One of the 4th house hearths was made on a ceramic fragments support[143]. The hearth discovered in *House no. 8* was round shaped[144], with a diameter of 0.75 m. Another two hearths with the same shape were noticed in *House no. 9*[145]. The hearth from *House no. 11* was made on a stratum of earth and stones[146].

The fire hearths from Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu* settlements were raised both inside the dwellings and outside them[147], generally in the middle of the floor or near one of the sides. Most of them were round (with the diameter of 1.00 m or more), but some rectangular ones with chimb, were also found.

Decorated hearths (altars)

An altar-decorated hearth (registered as *Decorated Hearth no. 3*)[148] was found in the 5th square of *Trench no. XXV* investigated in 2005 campaign in Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*. It was placed south of *House no. 30* and belonged to the second Getic level. *DH no. 3* was made on a beaten clay plinth and had a surface of 1.20 x 1.10 m. The corded decoration was composed of two cross displayed axis.

The altar-hearth noticed in the 15th square

[128] Trohani 1997, 202.

[129] Trohani 1997, 202.

[130] Vulpe A., Gheorghiţă 1981, 60 ff.

[131] Schuster, Popa 2008, 33 and pl. VII/2.

[132] Trohani, Oancea 1981, 243.

[133] Sîrbu, Damian 1996a, 13.

[134] Sîrbu, Damian 1996b, 36 f.

[135] Sîrbu, Damian 1996d, 56: the hearth from *House no. 4* had a diameter of 0.70 m.

[136] Cantacuzino, Trohani 1979, 267.

[137] Trohani 1975b, 158.

[138] Trohani 1976, 91 ff.

[139] Trohani 1987, 55.

[140] Turcu 1981.

[141] Sîrbu 1996a, 11.

[142] Trohani 2006, 14 f.

[143] Trohani 2006, 17. Another fire instalation turned out to be an altar-hearth.

[144] Trohani 2006, 22.

[145] Trohani 2006, 23.

[146] Trohani 2006, 24.

[147] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 127.

[148] Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 246 and fig. 1.

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Fig. 11. Radovanu − *Second Gorgana*. Overlapping of Decorated Hearth no. 4 and with an undecorated one (photo by A. Morintz).

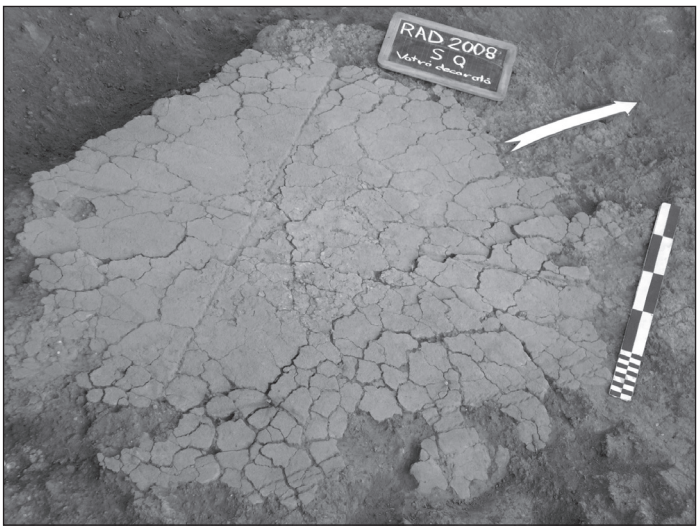

Fig. 12. Radovanu − *Second Gorgana*. Decorated Hearth no. 5 (photo by L. Mecu).

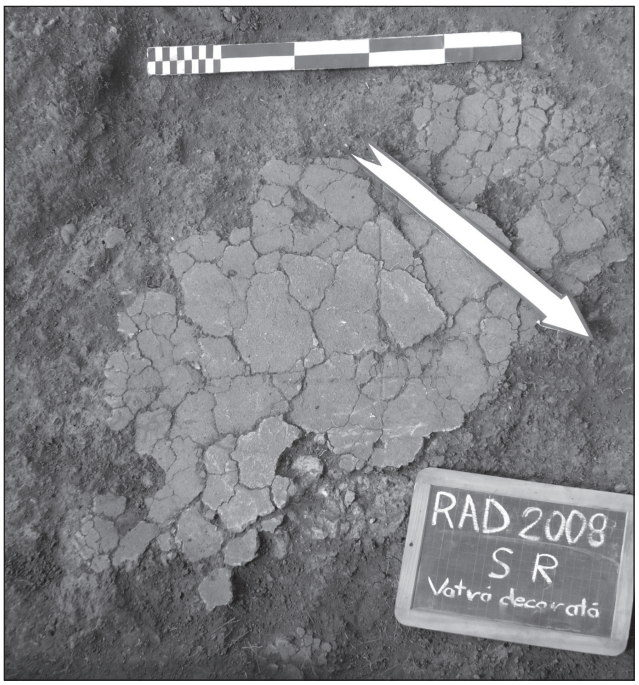

Fig. 13. Radovanu − *Second Gorgana*. Decorated Hearth no. 6 (photo by L. Mecu).

of *Trench no. XXV* turned out to be an exterior fire installation[149]. *DH no. 4* (Fig. 11) must be attributed to the second Getic level. It was placed south of *House no. 26* which was also provided with a hearth, but not decorated. It was raised on a beaten clay support and had the surface of 1.10 x 1.40 m. It was provided with a decoration consisting of a twin cord set diagonally, oriented in the direction of the cardinal points.

Another undecorated, exterior, partially destroyed hearth was superimposed by the altar-hearth. It was found at 0.25 m under and it was probably also a fire installation belonging to the second Getic level (Fig. 11).

In the 2008 campaign a new altar-hearth (*DH no. 5*)[150] was unearthed in *Surface Q.* Located between *Houses nos. 28* and *29*. *DH no. 5* (Fig. 12), this hearth was exterior and had very likely a squared shape (1.00 x 1.00 m) being north-south oriented. The border consisted of two cord-lines impressed in the soft clay. The square had its diagonals also marked, with the same cord, oriented towards northwest-southeast, respectively northeast-southwest. This one, destroyed in its southern part superimposed another undecorated fire installation. Taking into consideration the small distance between them, we believe that the bottom hearth belonged also to the second Getic level.

The last altar-hearth (*DH no. 6*) revealed in *Sector IIa*, *Surface R,* raised in *House no. 29*[151]*,* was attributed also to the second Getic level. Unfortunately it is very badly preserved (Fig. 13). Its dimensions could not be established, but it very possibly was smaller than *DH no. 5* and with squared shape as well. Only the braided incised diagonals could have been recognized. Their orientation was also northeast-southeast respectively northeast-southwest.

The 2005-2008 campaigns led, in the northern part of the settlement, to the discovery of four altar-hearths. They all had squared shape and were attributed to the second Getic level. A single one was identified inside a construction area (rather an annex than a house). The other three were exterior. These altar-hearths were raised using the same technique, on a beaten clay support with few impurities. The main ornament was formed by the diagonals incised in the creamy clay, with the twisted cord. One of them surely had the frame made in the same manner.

Previous investigations made on *Second Gorgana* unearthed the first decorated hearths-altars. Thereby, a round altar-hearth[152] was researched in the first sector of the mound, in *House*

[149] Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 246 and fig. 2.

[150] Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 246 and fig. 3.

[151] Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 246 and fig. 4.

[152] Şerbănescu 1985, 22; Şerbănescu 1998; Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 246.

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no. 2/1971. Slightly convex, it was1.20 m in diameter and it was decorated with five circles incised in the soft clay made with a twisted cord. All circles had a 0.09 m diameter; one of them was placed in a central position and another one can be seen in the heath's corner. The last circles were disposed towards the four cardinal points.

Another decorated altar-hearth was identified in the center of *House no. 9/1975-1977*[153]. Even if it was not well preserved, much evidence led to the conclusion that its shape was squared and its dimensions were 0.50 x 0.50 m. The borders were shaped with a frame incised in the soft clay with a cord. Another square, with sides of 0.32 m realized in the same way, was doubled inside by a third square of 0.32 x 0.32 m, formed in a similar manner. Circles of 0.10 m were incised following the same technique in each corner of the last square.

As already mentioned above, considering their inventory (the decorated hearths, vessels with possible ritual connotations, goldsmith tools etc.) the two constructions (*Houses nos. 2* and *9*) were considered to have had a special function/role, even possible sanctuaries[154].

On the occasion of another article[155] we focused on the altar-hearths from South Romania. Such fire installations were discovered along Argeş River at Popeşti-*Nucet*[156], but also at Căscioarele – *D'aia Parte*[157], Schitu – *La Conac*[158], Popeşti – Leordeni[159], Bucureşti-*Dealul Mihai Vodă*[160], Piscu Crăsani[161], Vlădiceasca – *Gherghălăul Mare*[162], Borduşani – *Popină*[163], Târcov, Cârlomăneşti[164], Fântânele[165] and Zimnicea[166].

Special types of Getic surface dwellings, classified by most research specialists as sanctuaries[167] are the ones with apse[168]. Such constructions have not been discovered so far at Radovanu. Some of these are rectangular, with a circle side. In Muntenia, this kind of structure can be encountered at Cetăţeni and Bucureşti-*Tei*[169]. According to recent hypothesis, the apse would have had a religious function[170], based on its northern orientation.

Among these apse constructions, an apparently significant role is attributed to the house from Popeşti – *Nucet*, where was also discovered, as previously discussed, an altar-decorated hearth[171]. This house was considered to be a temple, having the specific rooms-*cella* and *naos*-which every classic temple has. The altar-hearth was identified exactly in the place which can be named *cella*. Another apse building functioned in a previous chronological phase under this temple.

Starting from Popeşti – *Nucet* case, where the temple had inside the *cella* an altar-decorated hearth, we can take into consideration the idea that all constructions in which such fire installations were found were probably sanctuaries. This situation can be seen in the case of the two houses discovered in *Sector I*, at Radovanu (*Houses nos. 2* and *9*). Along these two sanctuaries we must add, following the same logic, the other construction from *Sector II* (*House no. 29)* which is provided with an altar-hearth.

In this way the number of sanctuaries from the *dava* rises to three at present. It is possible that these houses provided with altar-hearths "*served*" only one family. On the other hand it cannot be excluded that the exterior altar-hearths (*DH nos. 3*, *4* and *5*) could have been used by more than one family / house. Of course these observations are, for the time, difficult to prove, remaining at the stage of work hypotheses. Furthermore, another question arises, whether the sanctuaries and the altar-hearths were all at once in use, or at least some of them. If the answer is affirmative, which is very likely, that means that the mound's group of inhabitants was divided in several factions (families? clans?). We also cannot exclude the thought that the *davae* "*residents*" were the social, economic and religious elites, representing more than one entity ("*blood-related? administrative-related? other form of connection*?") that are believed to have inhabited the terrace from behind the small hill and surrounding the nowadays locality.

Two exterior altar-hearths (*DH no. 4* and *5*) from the *dava* are superimposed, as previously discussed, other undecorated ones. A similar superimposition case of a decorated hearth over an undecorated hearth was documented also at Popeşti – *Nucet.* Except that these were found inside a house, *House no. 1* from the *Trench II*. In such context, we ask ourselves if that building functioned as a sanctuary only from the moment when the altar-hearth was raised on, or it had an earlier similar role? Likewise, if the two exterior decorated altar-hearths

[153] Şerbănescu 1998; Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 246.

[154] Şerbănescu 1985, 22.

[155] Şerbănescu, Schuster, Morintz 2009, 248 ff.

[156] Vulpe R., Vulpe E. 1955, 245; Vulpe R. 1957, 234 and fig. 18/2; Vulpe R. 1959, 307 ff. and fig. 1; Palincaş 1997, 183; Trohani 1997, 200 ff.

[157] Sîrbu 1994, 30; Şerbănescu 1998.

[158] Schuster, Popa 2009, 60.

[159] Turcu 1971, 90 f.; Turcu 1979, 86 and fig. 10/2.

[160] Morintz, Cantacuzino 1954, 334 ff. and fig. 1; Morintz, Rosetti 1959, 29 and fig. 10; Cantacuzino 1959, 95 and fig. 10; Turcu 1979, 85 and fig. 11.

[161] Sîrbu 2006, 68.

[162] Trohani 1975b, 152, 158 and fig. 3; Trohani 1976, 88, 90 and fig. 2/3; Trohani 1987, 54 and pl. XLVI/8-9.

[163] Trohani 2006, 17 and pl. 23.

[164] Gugiu 2004.

[165] Mateescu, Babeş 1968, 287 f. and pl. I.

[166] Alexandrescu 1980, 21, 39 and fig. 59/2-3.

[167] Among others see Sanie 1995, 24 f.; Florea 2000, 80 ff.; Sîrbu 2006, 33 f.

[168] Regarding these constructions, see Bodó 2000.

[169] Rosetti 1932, 12 f. and fig. 23; Vulpe R. 1966, 39 and fig. 34: inside the house a grave was also discovered.

[170] Bodó 2000, 262.

[171] Also see Vulpe R. 1960; Vulpe R. 1961, Vulpe R. 1966, 32 f. and fig. C.

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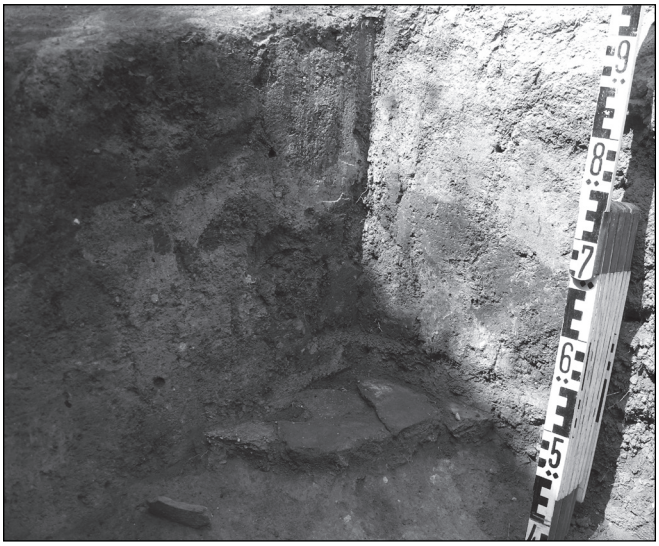

Fig. 17. Radovanu – *First Gorgana*: The Getic oven (photo by A. Năl-bitoru).

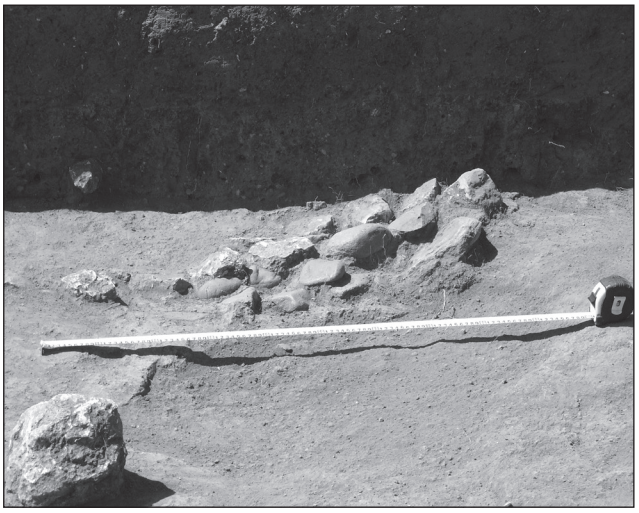

Fig. 6. Radovanu – *Second Gorgana*. Stone agglomerations (photo by L. Mecu).

from Radovanu were used for ritual purposes, could the ones that were found under them have had the same role? Does a fire installation become an altar only after it is ornamented with different geometric shapes, or it can have a ritual purpose without being decorated?

First Gorgana

Oven

Taking into account the small scale investigated area of the *First Gorgana*, the traces of a single fire installation were found. We are referring to the domestic oven found in *House no. 2*. Its dimensions were: 0.35 m in length and 0.30 m in height (Fig. 17)[172]. The oven's arch was preserved in elevation, until near its center, and its fireplace was built on big vessel fragments.

Ovens were found also at the Popeşti – *Nucet dava*. We remind the round oven with the diameter of 1.85 m from the above mentioned kitchen, and another probably exterior one, which had a circular fireplace (diameter of 1.95 m) and high walls of 0.80 m, as well as a "*door bordered by an arched clay frame*"[173]. In *House no. 11* from Chirnogi-*Rudărie* two blacksmith ovens were discovered[174]. Another fireplace-oven with domestic purposes was found in a border[175]. At Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu* the ovens were identified exclusively in several houses' perimeter[176]. These were made by gathering yellow clay in the same place, and then digging the "*burning chamber*". Such ovens can be found at Grădiştea[177] inside few deepened houses (such *Deepened House no. 8*) or surface dwellings (*Surface House no. 4*, made of stones, *Surface Houses nos*. *16* and *17,* made of clay).

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As it can be seen, at Radovanu-*Second Gorgana* a rule regarding the houses orientation didn't exist, as we have seen already. In the construction's perimeter and their proximity there are groups of pits of different sizes. Some were ritual some for supplies and most of them had household use[178]. The spaces between the houses were not too large, the width varying between 0.60 m to 2.00 m. Few such "*corridors*" were covered here and there with stones (Fig. 6). Besides, a stoned "*alley*" slightly curved was identified in the *Gorgana*'s central area, in *Sector I.* A question that rises is the following: admitting the lack of constructions, could the area have functioned as a public place?

The constructions researched during 2004-2008 campaigns in *Sector II* showed us that their activity was interrupted as a result of fire. In the same situation were the surface houses placed on *First Gorgana.* The houses belonging to the second Getic level from *Sector I* of *Second Gorgana* were also destroyed by a fire[179]. Most likely this stage habitation has ended somewhere around the year 60 BC[180].

Regarding the employment of mainly used materials and the construction techniques, the Getae surface dwellings dating from 2nd-1st centuries BC from Radovanu (but generally encountered in Southern Romania's area) are not different from those specific to previous chronologic phases (4th-3rd centuries BC). This statement can be supported by the surface houses discovered, among others, in Căscioarele-Greaca-Prundu area (*Şuvița Hotarului*[181], *La Borovină*[182], *Coinea I* and *Coinea II*[183], *Valea Coşarului*[184], *Valea*

[172] Şerbănescu et *alii* 2009, 180.

[173] Vulpe R. 1966, 33 and fig. 11.

[174] Trohani 1975a, 131.

[175] Trohani 1975a, 134.

[176] Irimia, Conovici 1989, 127.

[177] Sîrbu 1996a, 11.

[178] Şerbănescu 1985, 22.

[179] Şerbănescu 1985, 28.

[180] Şerbănescu 1985, 28.

[181] Sîrbu, Damian 1996a, 21 ff.: *Houses nos. 5*, *6*, *7*, *11*, *14*, *16*, *19*, *20*, *21*.

[182] Sîrbu 1996b, 39: *House no. 1*.

[183] Sîrbu, Damian 1996c, 41 f.: *House no. 1*, with the length of about 7.00 m; 50: *House no. 1*.

[184] Sîrbu, Damian 1996d, 56: *Houses nos. 1* and *2*.

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Fântânilor[185], *La Stână*[186], *D'aia Parte*[187]) (Călăraşi and Giurgiu County), but also at Budeşti (Călăraşi County)[188], Gâldău-Pietroiu – *Boureanu*[189], Mihail Kogălniceanu (Ialomiţa County), Petrişoru – *Ulmii lui Ţârlea* (Buzău County)[190], Satu Nou – *Vadu Vacilor*[191] and *Valea lui Voicu*[192] (Constanţa County).

The huts dating from 2nd to 1st centuries BC from southeastern Romania were also built similarly to those specific to the previous period (4th-3rd centuries BC). Actually this evidence is attested by the discoveries made in Căscioarele-Greaca-Prundu area (*Şuviţa Hotarului*[193], *Coinea I* and *Coinea II*[194], *Valea Fântânilor*[195], *La Stână*[196], *D'aia Parte*[197]), those from Bucu-Pochină[198], Gâldău-Pietroiu – *Boureanu*[199] and Petrişoru – *Ulmii lui Ţârlea*[200].

[185] Sîrbu 1996d, 65: *House no. 1*.

[186] Sîrbu 1996e, 75: *House no. 8*.

[187] Sîrbu 1994, 27 f.; Şerbănescu 1998: *Houses nos. 10*, *11* and *12* from *level I; Houses nos. 5*, *7* and *8* from *level II*; *Houses nos. 1*, *2*, *3*, *6* and *9* from *level III*.

[188] Sîrbu, Pandrea, Şimon, Damian, Popa 1997, 150: *House no. 3*, with the maintained dimensions of 2.60 x 1.25 m.

[189] Sîrbu, Oprea, Rădulescu, 1997, 210: *Surface House no. 1*.

[190] Trohani 1981, 45, 47: *House no. 3*.

[191] Irimia, Conovici, Ganciu 2007, 85 f.: *House no. 1* (about 5.75 x 4.50 m).

[192] Irimia, Conovici 1990, 86.

[193] Sîrbu, Damian 1996a, 20: *Deepened House no. 2*.

[194] Sîrbu, Damian 1996c, 41: *Deepened House no. 1*, with rectangular shape, with the length of 4.00 m; 50: *Deepened House no. 1*, rectangular, with the length of 3.50 m.

[195] Sîrbu 1996d, 65: *Deepened Houses nos. 1* (oval, with the maximum length 3.20 m) and *2* (rectangular, with rounded corners).

[196] Sîrbu 1996e, 74: *Deepened House no. 1*.

[197] Sîrbu 1994, 27; Şerbănescu 1998.

[198] Renţea 2004, 139 ff.: 22 deepened house.

[199] Sîrbu, Oprea, Rădulescu, 1997, 210: *Deepened House no. 1*.

[200] Trohani 1981, 45, 47: *Housse nos. 1* and *2*.

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FAUNAL REMAINS FROM „PIATRA CRAIVII" FORTRESS (CRICĂU COMMUNE, ALBA COUNTY). CAMPAIGN 2008

GEORGETA EL SUSI

Keywords: Dacian fortress, Piatra Craivii, sanctuary, mammals management, kill-off patterns.

Abstract: The article deals with two faunal samples from the points *"Terasa Bănuțului"* and *"La Stână"*, collected in the 2008 campaign. 656 bones from the first location are distributed in proportion of 41.7 % to pig, 33.3 % to cattle and 19.9 % to small ruminants**.** 56 bones were collected from the second location, the majority of them belonging to cattle (65.8 %), followed by ovicaprids (18.4 %), pig (8 %), horse (2.6 %), dog (2.6 %) and beaver (2.6 %). The proportion of species and interspecific relationships significantly differ from the sanctuary, meaning the prevalance of cattle bones, basic species in supplying and utility (especially), in addition, new elements appear as horse and the dog. In fact, the sample from dwelling is typical of a settlement, with all the five domestic mammals, even if the sample is small. As in the first case, the game is insignificant in relation to food, the beaver hunting was done for fur.

Cuvinte-cheie: Fortăreața dacică, Piatra Craivii, sanctuar, exploatarea mamiferelor, vârste de sacrificare.

Rezumat: Resturi de faună din fortificația de la *"Piatra Craivii"* (comuna Cricău, județul Alba). Din campania anului 2008 au fost analizate două eşantioane faunistice, din punctele *"Terasa Bănuțului"* şi *"La Stână"*. Din prima locație au fost determinate 656 oase, repartizate porcinelor în proporție de 41,7 %, urmate de bovine cu 33,3 % şi ovicaprine cu 19,9 %. Distribuția oaselor pe regiuni anatomice, în cazul suinelor indică un procent de 36,8 % elemente din scheletul craniului, 30,6 % din cel apendicular (centuri şi extremități proximale ale membrelor - părțile cărnoase), 14 % din extremități distale ale membrelor-părțile seci, fără carne şi 18,6 % din coloană. Ca vârste de sacrificare, până la un an, s-a tăiat un procent de 36,8 %, între 1-2 ani 28,9 %, între 2-3 ani 34,2 %. De fapt există două vârfuri de tăiere, până la un an şi în jur de 2-2,5 ani. Repartiția oaselor de vită pe regiuni scheletice indică un procent de 16,2 % elemente craniene, 22,1 % părți cărnoase ale membrelor, 18,2 % părți seci ale membrelor şi 43,5 % elemente din scheletul axial. Ca vârste de tăiere, până la 1,5 ani s-au sacrificat patru indivizi (33,3 %), între 1,5-2 ani un exemplar (8,3 %), între 2-3 ani, cinci indivizi (41,8 %), iar peste 5 ani, două animale (16,6 %). Evident, din rațiuni economice, în cazul mamiferelor de talie mare, în speță bovine, s-au sacrificat fie animale mature, cu randament economic diminuat, fie exemplare sub-adulte (masculi în primul rând). De la ovicaprine s-au determinate 92 oase, provenind de la 3 capre şi 5 oi, restul de 7 exemplare nu au fost identificate ca specie. În privința vârstelor de tăiere se constată un procent de 50 % animale sacrificate până la 18 luni, cu un „vârf" al tăierilor sub 3 luni (cel mai probabil începutul primăverii); un alt "vârf" de tăiere, pe la 21-24 luni. Puținele dimensionări sugerează exemplare de talie mică şi conformație gracilă, printre exemplarele femele identificându-se unul provenind de la un exemplar acornut. Proporția oaselor de mamifere vânate este mică, înregistrându-se 5,1 % (pe resturi) şi 9.7 % (pe NMI). S-au identificat oase de la cerb, căprior şi mistreț.

Din punctul "*La Stână*" s-au determinat 56 oase, în procent majoritar aparținând vitelor (65,8 %), ovicaprinelor (18,4 %), porcinelor (8 %), cabalinelor (2,6 %), canidelor (2,6%) şi castorului (2,6 %). Proporția speciilor şi raporturile interspecifice diferă major față de situația din sanctuar, în sensul prevalenței oaselor de vită, specie de bază sub raport alimentar şi utilitar (mai ales) în epocă; în plus, apar ca elemente noi față de sanctuar calul şi câinele. De fapt spectrul faunistic din locuință este cel tipic unei aşezări, toate cele 5 mamifere domestice fiind prezente, chiar dacă eşantionul este mic. În cazul bovinelor s-a estimat o înălțime la greabăn de 101 cm (femelă); probabil în zona înaltă de la Piatra Craivii erau gospodărite un tip de bovine, de "*munte*" reduse ca înălțime, adaptate mediului respectiv. Ca şi în primul caz, fauna sălbatică este nesemnificativă sub raport alimentar, vânarea castorului făcându-se pentru blană.

Piatra Craivii (the Rock of Craiva) is a limestone massif (1,083 m altitude), located on the south-east side of the Apuseni Mountains (sub-unit Trascău), in the NW part of Craiva village and at about 20 km to north of Alba Iulia town. The place offers a good visibility over a large part of Mureş Valley, along the route of access to the gold mines from the Apuseni Mountains. The settlement and the Dacian fortress from "Piatra Craivii" were identified as the residence of the Dacian tribe – Apuli and the "oppidan" centre – Apulon. "*The archaeological site has distinguished, during three centuries of Dacian existence, as a settlement built on eleven artificial terraces dug in the native rock, than as an individual fortification… it was important also as spiritual, religious center*"[1]. Archaeological research performed in 2008 on *"Terasa Bănuțului / Bănuțului Terrace"* (located above the other ones) have revealed five temples rectangular plinth of limestone, characteristic of the Dacian kingdom, with a rich archaeological inventory consisting of pottery fragments, metal pieces and faunal remains[2].

Species distribution

656 bones were determined from *"Terasa Bănuțului"*, all collected from the trenches S VII-S VII

[1] Moga 2004, 79.

[2] Moga *et al.* 2008, 106-108.

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Table 1. Distribution of species at Piatra Craivii-*Terasa Bănuțului*.

	0.32-0.66 m				0.66 m	
Taxa	NISP	%	MNI	%	NISP	%
Sus scrofa domesticus	193	41.7	38	52.8	43	51.8
Bos taurus	154	33.3	12	16.7	15	18.07
Ovis/Capra	92	19.9	15	20.8	23	27.71
Domestic mammals	439	94.9	65	90.3	81	97.59
Cervus elaphus	15	3.2	3	4.2	1	1.2
Capreolus capreolus	7	1.5	3	4.2	1	1.2
Sus scrofa ferrus	2	0.4	1	1.3		
Wild mammals	24	5.1	7	9.7	2	2.41
Determined bones	463	100	72	100	83	100
Small species splinters	91				20	
Splinters	101				24	
Fish	1					
Total sample	656				127	

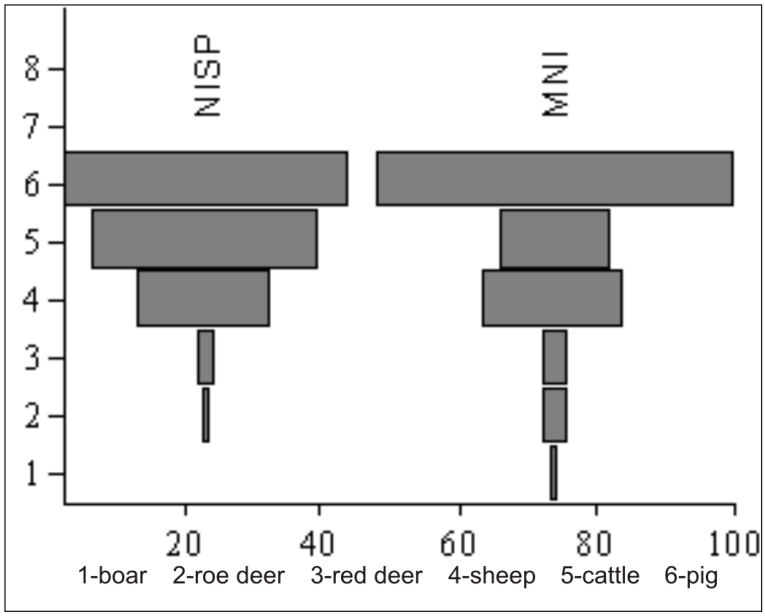

Fig. 1. Species distribution at "Terasa Bănuțului".

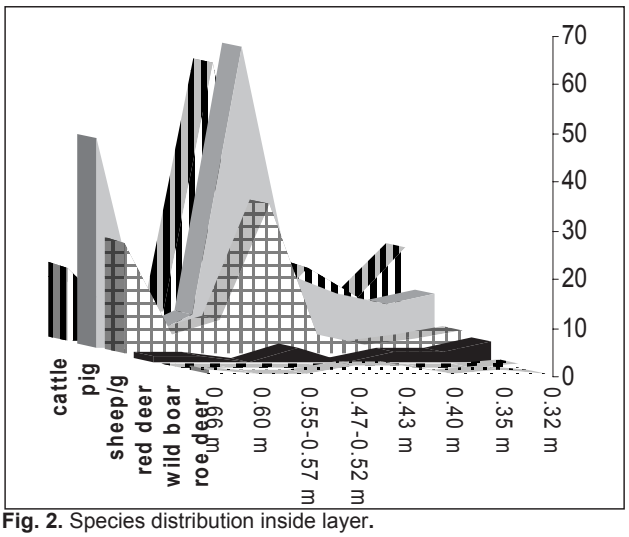

Fig. 2. Species distribution inside layer.

bis, from a depth of 0.32-0.66 m (the Dacian sanctuary perimeter). Of the total sample, 463 pieces are completely determined; the other 192 fragments are unidentifiable (91 of which belonging to small species, most likely ovicaprids/ pigs). A single fish bone, was determined – a freshwater species, a cyprinids. The sample consists only of fragmented bones, no whole pieces preserved, except for bovine phalanges, or astragali, calcanei of small ruminants and pig. The material is free from contact with fire; there is few evidence of butchery, just in two cases. It is about a proximal phalanx of cattle with fine incisions on the front, arising from the action of skinning. Also, a fragment of a cattle rib shows a cut trace, perpendicular on its length, as a result of the intention to dismember the carcass. Articulated bones were not identified, or having come from a larger region of the body. As a simple observation: the bones collected from the sanctuary area, are generally small-sized, whether they comes from small species (sheep, pig, goat), or represent small portions of bones from large animals, e.g. cattle). Practically, mostly are the ribs, broken in small pieces. Osteological accumulation is reduced in taxa, so four domestic mammals (pig, sheep, goat, cattle) three wild animals (deer, wild boar, roe deer) and a fish taxon were identified. The dog and horse, common animals in Dacian settlements are missing from our list, suggesting a special character of the site. As to the distribution of bones, according to depths they were collected from, there are some remarks: a large accumulation of waste is observed at 0.47-0.52 m depth (about one third of the sample). Share cattle bones decreases from the surface (0.32 m) to 0.66 m. In contrast, the small ruminants, increase in number to 0.66 m, the hunted animals are more numerous by 0.43 m and then decrease (Fig. 2). For now, at this stage of research, we do not know if these findings have any relevance, however, it deserves to be mentioned. To note that, at 0.66 m depth a walking level was identified, dated in the second half of the first century BC[3].

[3] Information C. Plantos, thankworthy for materials and relevant suggestions.

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Table 2. Distribution of body elements.

Element	cattle	pig	sheep/g	red deer	roe deer	wild boar
Horn cores			3			
Skull	5	25	3	1		
Maxila	7	24	2	2		
Mandibula	13	24	14	3		
Atlas	2		1			
Axis	3		1			
Scapula	1	6	8			
Humerus	5	6	3			
Radius	6	9	6	1	4	
Ulna	4	5		1	1	
Metacarpus	2	10	6	2		
Pelvis	7	15	3			
Sacrum		1				
Femur	7	7	4	1		
Fibula		1				
Tibia	4	9	7	1	1	1
Astragalus		1	1			
Calcaneus		4	1			
Metatarsus	3	7	7	1		
Centroquartal	1					
Phalanx I	11	1		1		
Phalanx II	6	1		1		
Phalanx III	5	1				
Ribs	38	27	13			1
Vertebra	24	9	9		1	
TOTAL	154	193	92	15	7	2

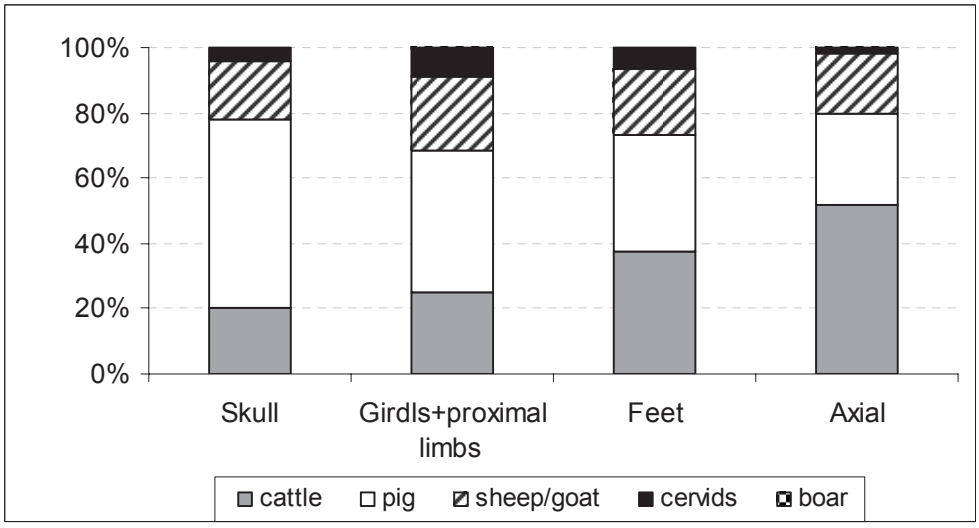

Fig. 3. Body parts distribution.

About 127 fragments, accounting for 19.35%, have been collected from that level. Species percentages differ somewhat from the overall statistics, meaning larger share of the pig remains, an 18% decrease in the rate of cattle, in parallel with an increase in the sheep, at 27 % (Table 1, Fig.1).

Remains distribution on species and anatomical parts highlights the following issues: a quota of 36.8 % correspond to cephalic elements, 30.6 % girdles and limb proximal extremity – the fleshy parts and 14 %, the distal ends of limbs – no meaty parts, in case of the pig. 18.6 % is the representation of spine elements, as vertebrae and ribs (Table 2, Fig. 3).

In contrast, the bones distribution of cattle points out the prevalence of axial skeleton elements (43.5 %), the cranial bones totaling no more than 16.2 %, the fleshy parts of limbs 22.1 % and 18.2 % the dry parts of limbs. The sheep/goat repartition proposes the following values: cephalic fragments – 24 %, axial skeleton – 26.1 %, proximal limbs – 33.7 % and distal ends of limbs – 16.3 %. Overall, except for feet bones, which total no more than 16 %, the rest of the

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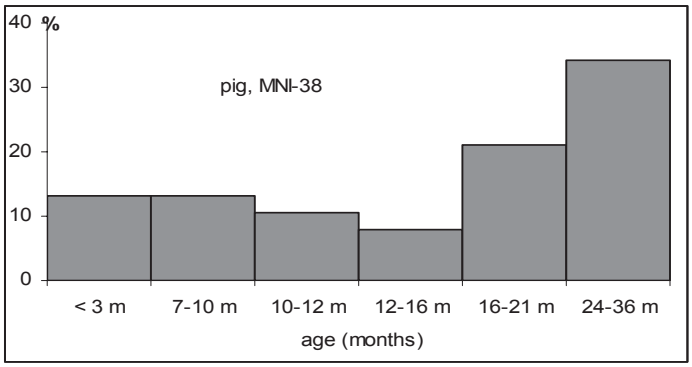

Fig. 4. Kill-off patterns of pig.

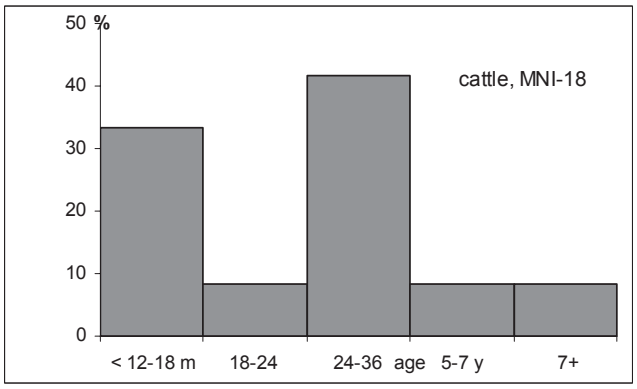

Fig. 5. Kill-off patterns of cattle.

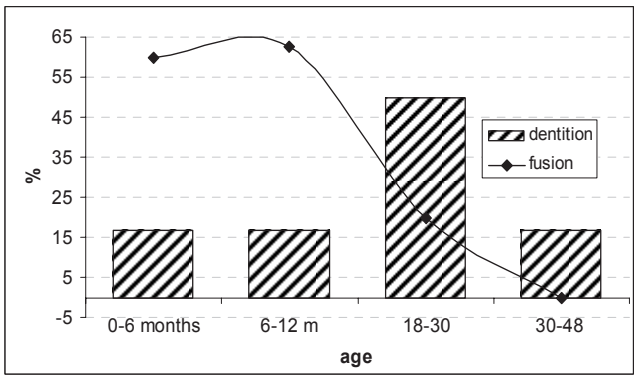

Fig. 6. Kill-off patterns of ovicaprids.

material represents only body parts with gastronomic value. Remains of skull do not amount more than 27 %, of which about half comes from pig. Accordingly, the share of pig as MNI (minim number individuals) is very high, over 50 % of identified individuals belonging to them. With similar value the spine remnants are quoted, half of them belonging to the cattle. And finally, the last category-the proximal parts of limbs-is accounted for nearly 30 % of the total, with a slight predominance of the pig bones. As a conclusion, the dominant rate of elements belonging to regions with food value is another feature of this accumulation from sanctuary.

In the order of species prevalence, pig is the most numerous, with 193 bones (41.7 %) from 38 individuals (52.8 %). Cattle account for 154 bones (33.3 %), from 12 presumed individuals (16.7 %). The ovicaprids total 92 specimens (19.9 %) from 15 individuals (20.8 %), placing before or after cattle, according to calculation method. The share of hunted species is reduced to 5 % as remainders, and 10 % as number of individuals. Red deer is rated with 3.2 %, followed by roe deer with 1.5 % and wild boar with 0.4 %.

Ages of death

The numerous maxillary fragments from pig have allowed good assessments of slaughter age and their detailed analysis. So, about 36.8 % was slaughtered up to one year, 28.9 % between 1-2 years and 34.2 % between 2-3 years (Fig. 4). Concretely, we have five piglets up to three months (M1 not erupted), afterward a pause in slaughtering and eleven exemplars between 7-12 months (M2 in different stages of eruption). Only three animals are identified between 12-16 months and eight animals (M3 in an early stage of eruption) between 16-21 months. A maximum rate of 34.2 % (13 exemplars) is supposed between 2-3 years (begins the wear of M3). Perhaps there was certain regularity in pig slaughtering, depending on productivity and its prolificacy per year, community needs, or some economic considerations. It seems that the proportion of males is slightly higher among culled pigs, a normal situation in terms of preserving the females for breeding. Regarding cattle, the shortage of dentition, allowed accurate assessment only for classes 18-36 months and 5-7 years. As for the animals slaughtered until 18 months, the estimates were made based on evidence provided by sutures of long bones. As said by statistics, four exemplars (33.3 %) were sacrificed up to 1.5 years, one animal (8.3 %) between 1.5-2 years, five individuals (41.8 %) between 2-3 years, and two animals over five years (16.6 %). So, a cutting peak has been recorded at juvenile specimens and another one at sub-adult animals (Fig. 5). Few slaughtering of mature animals were found, their percentage is about 16 %. Obviously, economic considerations have dictated the choice for culling, be it mature specimens decreased as economic performance, or immature males.

Regarding the small ruminants, 92 bones were determined, originating in three goats and six sheep, remaining six individuals not specifically assigned to taxon. According to epiphyses fusion, there is a prevalence of young animals and sub-adult, thus have been identified remains of two goats culled up to six months; three sheep and a goat were killed starting with 6-12 months (but not more than 18 months), finally, two exemplars of 18-30 months old were also presumed (Fig. 6). Basically, the survival rate is highest (60 %) up to a year, sharply decreasing towards 18-30 months to 20 %. Three goats and six sheep are presumed according to this criterion. On the basis of dentition, a rate of 16.67 % slaughtering up to six months was established, as up to one year; the maximum rate of 50 % refers to animals culled between 18-24 months and only 16.67 % between 3-3.5 years. All specimens recognized by dentition, are sheep. Therefore, the report sheep/goat, with a value of 6/3 suggest that goat is quite often used as an object of slaughter, or to replace the sheep and to preserve them from economic reasons, either, there is a certain abundance in flocks of small ruminants. In addition, the fact that small ruminants were

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Table 3. Distribution of species at Piatra Craivii-*La Stână*.

Taxa	NISP	%	MNI	
Sus scrofa domesticus	3	8	1	10
Bos taurus	25	65.8	4	40
Ovis/Capra	8	18.4	2	20
Canis familiaris	1	2.6	1	10
Equus caballus	1	2.6	1	10
Domestic mammals	38	97.4	9	90
Castor fiber	1	2.6	1	10
Wild mammals	1	2.6	1	10
Determined bones	39		10	100
Splinters	17			
Total sample	56			

slaughtered in a large numbers in immature stages pleads for assigning a particular character to analyzed sample (or at least part of it). Most ovicaprids were killed during spring and few in cold season.

On the subject of red deer bones, 15 fragments originate from at least three individuals killed as it follows: one exemplar shortly after 27-30 months (definitive premolars just erupted[4]), another one over 2.5 years and the last one at a juvenile stage (according morphological observations). Let's note that, in case of this taxon, all body regions are represented, even the skull, suggesting that animals were entirely brought into the site after hunting and dismembered. Few comments on roe deer, the seven bones belong to three animals. There is no evidence provided by teeth, the assessments were made solely on sutures of the long bones. In this context, it seems that all the remainders come from animals aged than 15 months. It worth mentioning the abundance of radii, so four of the seven bones are radii, one is completely with the length of 184 mm. A single splinter of a proximal tibia, from an adult boar was identified.

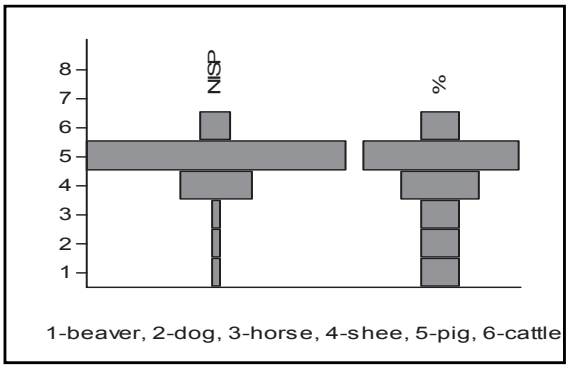

Fig. 7. Species distribution at *"La Stână."*

Size and type of animals

Few anatomical measurements of the domestic livestock were made, because of excessive fragmentation of the bones. As at the other Dacian sites from Transylvania, the cattle appear to have been of small-medium sized type, but we do not dispose complete bones for evaluations of withers' heights. The few dimensions suggests the prevalence of low values, some but larger, probably belonging to males. In pigs, the data are more numerous, with assessments of height at withers. Thus, the size of pig varies 67.6-76.99 cm, with an average of 70.87 cm. They fall within the size ranges of the Dacian values recorded in some site from Transylvania as it follows: Mereşti, 66.7-74.2 cm (average 70.2), Covasna, 66.7-74.2 cm (71.7 cm)[5], Sighişoara, 68.9-79.8 (74.1 cm)[6] and Şimleul Silvaniei, 63.5-78.9 cm (72 cm)[7]. The small number of measurements from sheep and goat are not conclusive, for appreciations of their size. Just to mention, it was revealed a frontal from a hornless ewe; instead of horns, two small protuberances were found. Horns of this type are a rarity in the Dacian epoch.

The archaeological investigations on the terrace named "*La Stână*" brought to light remainders of a Dacian house with its components (hearth fire, waste pits) and diverse archaeological materials, together with 56 bones, all largely dated between the first century BC – beginning of the first century AD[8]. From the point "La Stână" were determined 56 bones, mostly belonging to cattle (25 bones – 65.8 %), followed by small ruminants (8 bones – 18.4 %), pig (3 bones – 8 %), dog and horse (one piece for each other – 2.6 %). Beaver is the only wild mammal found in the site. Beaver hunting probably will be made for fur. The proportion of taxa differs from that of the sanctuary, as expressed by prevalence of bovine bones, the main species, in food supplying and utility, in addition new elements appear the horse and dog (Table 3, Fig. 7). In fact, the association of taxa from that house is characteristic for a Dacian settlement, all five domestic mammals (cattle, sheep, goat, horse, and dog) are present, even if the sample is small. When cattle, a height at withers of 101 cm (female) was estimated; probably in the high area of "*Piatra Craivii*", the "*mountain*" type of cattle, reduced in height, well adapted to the environmental conditions was widespread. It is a very small size, even for cattle from Dacian contexts, similar values reported at Covasna

[4] Azorit *et al.* 2002, 111 and table 4.

[5] Bindea 2008, 163.

[6] El Susi 1996, 515.

[7] El Susi 2008, 164.

[8] Moga *et al.* 2008, 106-108.

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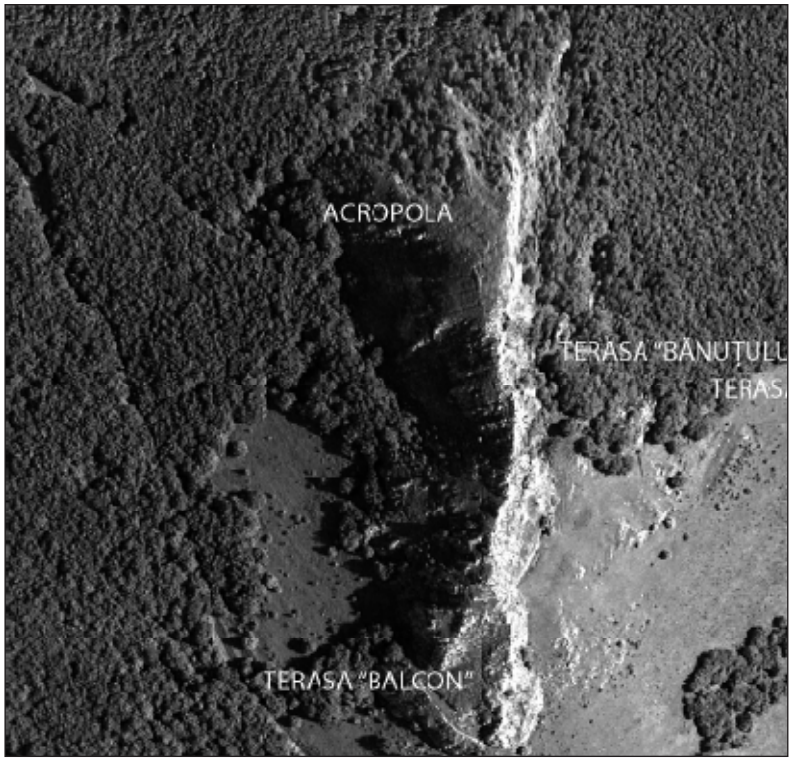

Fig. 8. "Piatra Craivii" ortophotoplan, (cf. Plantos 2009, plate 1).

(105 cm)[9], Piatra Detunată (105.6 cm[10]), Racoş-*Tipia Ormenişului* (107.3 cm)[11], mostly in settlements located in the mountainous regions. Bovine bones originate in at least four individuals, one culled at 2-2.5 years, another one until three years and another two over four years. Of eight bones attributable to small ruminants, five come from a sheep, cut in six months and one remainder from an immature goat. Three pig bones originate from an individual slaughtered just after two years. From a horse, a piece of talus, and from a dog, a portion of upper jaw with a premolar fallen, were identified.

[9] Bindea 2008, 137.

[10] Personal data.

[11] El Susi 2006, 272.

***

Instead of conclusions, some observations imposed by submitted data. Even if we are dealing with limited samples (mainly in the second case), however some patterns seem to take shape. Some differences arise from the faunal composition and species frequencies: concrete cattle bones prevail in the accumulation from dwelling (more than 60 %), unlike the sanctuary (33 %). From economic reasons, the cattle were less used as offering, although it seems, the community dealt with cattle breeding. Another finding, the small sized-species (pig, sheep, goat), easy to feed and breeding prevail in the deposit of the sanctuary. The pig, taxon with higher prolificacy and short reproductive cycle, will be easier to feed in the surrounding, so there were no problems with renewal pig herds, even in condition of excessive culling. It seems, there were favorable conditions also, for small ruminants feeding, especially goats. The dog and the horse were not the subject of offerings. Hunting was occasionally practiced. A low rate of hunting is found in both locations. A somewhat elevated rate of roe deer (the same as the deer, as MNI) may suggest a landscape with many forest glades. In the sanctuary were found only remains from species used in supplying, including fish. Repeat that, the age slaughter profiles emphasized, especially young and sub-adulte exemplars. And the most interesting aspect, a layer of only 34 cm thickness, has provided many bones belonging to 72 individuals (the bones were collected between depths of 0.32 to 0.66 m). It is necessary that future research clarify some issues.

Measurements

Maxilla

Context	Taxon	P2-M3	M1-M3	LM3	Age
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	sheep	74.5	49.1	19.7	3-4 y
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig		63.1	30.6	24-30 m
SVII bis/C3b/-0.48 m	pig		58.7	26.1	24-30 m
SVII bis/C4a/-0.47 m	cattle		71.5	22.8	24-36 m
SVII bis/C2b/-0.35 m	cattle			28.9	36 m

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Mandibula

Context	Taxon	M3		Age
SVII bis/C3b/-0.48 m	sheep	21.2		36-48 m
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	cattle	34.5		36-42 m
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	cattle	40.4		5-7 y
SVII bis/C2b/-0.35 m	pig	30.4		24-30 m

Scapula

Context	Taxon	SLC	GLP	LG	Age
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	sheep		37.6	27.4	
SVII bis/C4b/-0.52 m	sheep	19.5	34.4	27.2	
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig	21	33	27	
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig	20.8	30.5	27.8	
SVII bis/C4a/-0.55 m	pig	22.1			Subadult

Humerus

Context	Taxon	BT	Bd	Dd	Age
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig	29			
SVII, profil	pig	31.4	38	36.9	24-30 m

Radius

Context	Taxon	GL	BFP	Bp	Dp
SVIIbis/C2a/-0.43 m	goat		29.1	30.4	15.6
SVII bis/C2b/-0.35 m	roe deer	184		26.9	16.2
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	sheep		25.8	27.3	13.6
SVII/C5/-0.60 m	cattle		66.1	34.4	
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig			28.4	19.7
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	pig			32.2	19.2
SVIIbis/C2a/-0.43 m	pig			29.2	19.6
SVII bis/C4b/-0.48 m	pig			27.7	18.4

Metacarpus

Context	Taxon	GL/Mc4	BP	Dp	Age
SVII bis/C2b/-0.51 m	goat		24.1	17.1	< 18 m
SVII/C5/-0.60 m	goat		27.2	18.4	
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	sheep		24	17.6	< 18 m
SVII bis/C4a/-0.47 m	sheep		24.1	18.2	
SVII bis/C2a/-0.43 m	cattle		55.3	35	
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig	67			
SVII bis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig	69.5			
SVII bis/C4b/-0.52 m	pig	67.8			
Context	**Taxon**	**Bd**	**Dd**	**GL/Mc. 3**	
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	red deer	46.3	30		
SVII bis/C4a/-0.55 m	sheep	28	15.5		
SVII bis/C4a/-0.47 m	pig			74.5	

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Phalanx I

Context	Taxon	GL	Bp	Age
SVII bis/C4a/-0.55 m	pig	36.4	16.4	24-30 m
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	cattle	50		12-18 m
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	cattle	51.6		
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	cattle	62.2	32.5	
SVII bis/C4a/-0.47 m	cattle	52.3	28.4	
SVII bis/C4b/-0.52 m	cattle	58	29	
SVII bis/C3b/-0.48 m	red deer	63.7		

Talus

Context	Taxon	GLl	GLm	Bd
SVIIbis/C2a/-0.43 m	pig	38.5	34	22.6

Pelvis

Context	Taxon	LA		
SVIIbis/C5a/-0.66 m	pig	31		
SVII Abis/C1a/-0.32 m	pig	32.8		
SVIIbis/C2a/-0.43 m	pig	29.2		

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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TOMBES D'INHUMATION EN CHAMBRE, AVEC PUITS ET CORRIDOR DE LA MÉSIE INFÉRIEURE

LIANA OȚA

Mots-clé: tombes, inhumation, chambre funéraire, corridor, puit, niche, mobilier, Mésie Inférieure.

Résumé: Dans le présent article il s'agit des ensembles funéraires que la littérature de spécialité appelle tombes «*d'inhumation en niche*». Néanmoins, cette dénomination ne semble pas la plus appropriée, car elle risque d'offrir une image erronée des caractéristiques constructives. Même si plus longue, la dénomination «*tombes en chambre, avec puits et corridor*» semble plus appropriée, bien que le terme «*chambre*» puisse susciter des critiques. On a découvert jusqu'à présent en Mésie Inférieure, au moins 120 tombes d'inhumation en chambre. L'article analyse les caractéristiques constructives, le dépôt des défunts et le mobilier des tombes. Chronologiquement, les tombes d'inhumation en chambre, avec puits et corridor se concentrent dans une période entre le milieu du II^e^ et la fin du III^e^ siècle apr. J.-C., la majorité appartenant au III^e^ siècle. Pour les tombes de Callatis, Tomis, Odessos et Histria, on pourrait avancer la solution d'une origine nord-pontique.

Cuvinte-cheie: morminte, incinerație, cameră funerară, coridor, puț, nişă, inventar, Moesia Inferior.

Rezumat: Articolul de față încearcă să atragă atenția asupra complexelor funerare denumite, în literatura de specialitate de până acum, morminte de înhumație "*în firidă*". Totuşi, această denumire nu pare cea mai potrivită, deoarece ea poate oferi o imagine eronată asupra caracteristicilor constructive ale complexelor amintite. Chiar dacă aparent mai lungă, denumirea "*morminte în cameră cu puț şi coridor*" pare mai potrivită, deşi termenul "*cameră*" poate fi supus criticii. Articolul analizează caracteristicile constructive, depunerea defuncților şi inventarul mormintelor. Cronologic, mormintele de înhumație în cameră, cu puț şi coridor, se concentrează într-o perioadă cuprinsă între mijlocul secolului al II-lea şi sfârşitul secolului al III-lea p. Chr., majoritatea aparținând secolului al III-lea. În ceea ce priveşte mormintele de la Callatis, Tomis, Odessos şi Histria, se poate avansa ipoteza unei origini nordpontice.

Nous avons écrit ce qui suit dans le but d'attirer l'attention sur quelques aspects concernant un certain type de tombes assez fréquemment attesté dans certaines nécropoles de la Mésie Inférieure. Il s'agit des ensembles funéraires que la littérature de spécialité appelle tombes «*d'inhumation en niche*»[1]. On a du mal à réaliser une approche unitaire de ce type funéraire, pour plusieurs raisons. En premier lieu, toutes les tombes de ce type découvertes jusqu'à présent, n'ont pas bénéficié d'une publication systématique. Même dans le cas des tombes publiées plus en détail, la description des caractéristiques constructives diffèrent d'un auteur à l'autre, en raison peut-être des circonstances de la découverte, surtout dans le cas des fouilles de sauvetage. Une dernière raison dérive de la concentration des tombes mentionnées dans deux nécropoles, Tomis et Callatis, ce qui a eu pour résultat une approche fondée en principal sur les aspects locaux en défaveur de ceux d'ensemble.

Nous ne voudrions pas que les lignes suivantes soient perçues comme une critique à l'adresse de ceux qui ont recherché et publié ce type de complexes funéraires, mais plutôt comme une tentative de définir les caractéristiques constructives et de mobilier de ces tombes, tentative qui pourrait mener à une meilleure compréhension du *groupe* mentionné de tombes à travers tout le territoire de la province Mésie Inférieure.

On y remarque en premier lieu l'absence d'une dénomination unitaire. Les tombes de la nécropole de Tomis sont publiées sous le nom, déjà mentionné, *«tombes d'inhumation en niche»*; les tombes de la nécropole de Callatis sont analysées surtout comme des *«tombes en chambre, avec dromos et puits»*[2], tandis que les sépultures découverts auparavant à Callatis[3] ou la tombe d'Odessos[4] sont publiés comme des *«tombes avec puits»*. Certes, il est difficile de changer une dénomination bien souvent utilisée et qui s'est presque généralisée dernièrement, par sa reprise dans le cas des ensembles funéraires similaires de Callatis récemment mis au jour[5]. Néanmoins, la dénomination *«tombes d'inhumation en niche»* ne semble pas la plus appropriée car elle risque d'offrir une image erronée des caractéristiques constructives. Le mot *«niche»* signifie une ouverture de petites dimensions, ce qui n'est pas adéquat pour les dimensions des espaces où l'on a déposé les défunts (voir *infra,* dimensions). Même si plus longue, la dénomination «*tombes en chambre, avec puits et corridor*» semble plus appropriée, bien que le terme «*chambre*» puisse susciter des critiques, surtout si on les compare aux ensembles bâtis en pierre (à la différence des chambres de l'époque romaine de la Mésie Inférieure, qui ne sont pas maçonnées), utilisés par les Thraces ou les Scythes et connus également sous le nom de «*chambre*». Nous utiliserons également, le long de l'article,

[1] Barbu 1971, type VIII, 53-55.

[2] Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977, 127-151.

[3] Condurachi *et al.* 1950, 84.

[4] Mirčev 1968, 217-219.

[5] CCA 2006 (Campania 2005), 215.

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la dénomination abréviée de tombes d'inhumation en chambre.

On a découvert jusqu'à présent en Mésie Inférieure, au moins 120 tombes d'inhumation en chambre, auxquelles s'ajoutent des sépultures du même type, seulement mentionnés, à Tomis-*rue Jupiter (*la majorité des 14 tombes sont d'inhumation en chambre)[6], Tomis-*rue Traian* (14 tombes de ce type, qui peuvent être aussi romaines tardives)[7], Tomis-*magasin Tomis* (nombre pas précisé de tombes)[8]. Faute de recherches qui apportent plus de précisions, chronologiques en particulier, nous ne saurions parler des tumuli à *dromos* fait en pierre et mortier[9], signalés à Turda. Malgré le nombre relativement grand, les tombes d'inhumation en chambre se concentrent dans deux nécropoles: Tomis (avec au moins 78 tombes de ce type) et Callatis (avec 39 tombes). On y ajoute une seule tombe d'inhumation en chambre trouvée dans la nécropole tumulaire de Histria, un ensemble à Odessos et une tombe isolée, à 2 Mai.

Caractéristiques constructives

La plupart des tombes romaines d'inhumation en chambre, de la Mésie Inférieure, sont planes. Jusqu'à présent, il existe deux ensembles qui sont à coup sûr tumulaires – celui de Histria (secondaire) et celui de 2 Mai (Fig. 1/1-2). E. Bârlădeanu-Zavatin[10] tend à croire dans l'existence de petits tumuli de terre, qui avaient recouvert quelques-unes des tombes de Callatis, tumuli qui, le long du temps, se sont aplatis. Encore plus, la zone avait été, avant les travaux de construction pour les nouveaux immeubles, ce qui a mené à la découverte de la nécropole mentionnée, un terrain vague, destiné au dépôt des ordures ménagères. Néanmoins, la seule chose que l'on puisse faire dans l'absence d'une évidence sur place, et en comparaison avec les autres tombes de ce type de la Mésie Inférieure, est de mentionner seulement cette hypothèse.

Une seule tombe, T.[11] 43, de Tomis-*nécropole de sud-ouest*[12], a eu deux chambres funéraires, avec un corridor commun. Dans les autres tombes, on avait aménagé une seule chambre pour le dépôt des défunts.

La forme et les dimensions des chambres trahissent, à première vue, une grande diversité, qui pourrait être seulement en apparence. L'impression de l'extrême diversité est due au manque d'unité dans la description des chambres funéraires, chaque auteur ayant ses propres termes et un système à soi, parfois incomplet, d'enregistrer toutes les particularités constructives de la chambre funéraire. Ainsi, la tentative de systématiser les informations concernant le mode de construction de la chambre devient difficile et, pour certains, inutile. Nous essaierons, toutefois, de classifier les chambres d'après leur forme, même si ce n'est que pour attirer l'attention sur la nécessité d'une description relativement unitaire.

Selon la forme, les chambres funéraires sont rectangulaires, trapézoïdales (2 Mai – Fig. 1/2), ellipsoïdales (Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium*, T. 15) ou irrégulières (Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium*, T. 6). Cependant, les trois dernières formes, chacune attestée pour l'instant dans un seul cas, semblent plutôt des exceptions. Les chambres funéraires sont d'habitude rectangulaires, sans autres précisions (13 cas, à Tomis-*nécropole ouest* – T. 19, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44), avec voûte (sept cas, à Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 1, 3 – Fig. 2/1, T. 7, 8, 9, 12, 16), étroites, aux coins arrondis, en pente (huit tombes à Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie* - T. 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17), larges, aux coins arrondis (10 sépultures à Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie* - T. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 16, 20, tandis que T. 4 de Callatis-*zone Saturn* a les coins arrondis et une voûte), presque carrées (Tomis-*nécropole ouest* T. 23 et 46), rectangulaires, aux coins arrondis, avec marche et niche sur les côtés longs (Histria Tm. XXX[2] – Fig. 1/1). T. 25 de Callatis-*nécropole ouest* et T. 7 et 13 de Tomis-*rue G. Enescu* ont une chambre à voûte, et la chambre T. 4 de Tomis-*Entrée Smârdan-M. Eminescu* est en pente.

On a imposé dernièrement une classification des chambres funéraires selon leur position par rapport au corridor, c'est-à-dire longitudinale (Tomis-*rue M. Eminescu* T. 1, *Entrée Smârdan-M. Eminescu* T. 2, 3, 4, 5, Tomis-*rue G. Enescu* T. 7, Tomis-*rue* Traian T. 1, et 12 tombes à Tomis-rue *Traian*) ou latérale (Tomis-*rue G. Enescu* T. 1, 4, 13, Tomis-*rue Mihai Vitezu* T. 5, Tomis-*rue Traian* T. 3, et deux tombes à Tomis-*rue Traian*). Ce critère est important, mais il a, au moins à présent, deux inconvénients: l'absence de toute illustration, ainsi que l'absence de toute tentative de les corroborer avec les tombes précédemment découvertes, même celles de la même nécropole.

Les dimensions des chambres funéraires varient entre les coordonnées suivantes: longueur minimale 0,70 m et maximale 3,50 m, largeur minimale 0,40 m, maximale 1,76 m, hauteur minimale 0,30 m, maximale 1,47 m. Les dimensions du corridor sont: longueur, entre 0,80-3,25 m, largeur, 0,40-1,70 m. Nous attirons l'attention sur le fait que, dans la nécropole de Callatis, les chambres funéraires ont, à six exceptions, 1,00 m de haut, tandis que dans celle de Tomis, elles ont, d'habitude, moins de 1,00 m de haut (19 seulement sont plus hautes). Cela pourrait constituer un argument en faveur d'une particularité constructive locale.

Un autre aspect concernant la construction de la chambre funéraire consiste en son obturation après le dépôt des cadavres. Il y a, apparemment, peu de chambres funéraires dont l'entrée est bloquée (41). A première vue, la règle semble être celle d'une chambre non-bloquée, mais un examen plus attentif relève seulement 11 ensembles qui ont bénéficié de cette mention explicite (Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie,* T. 2,

[6] CCA 2000 (Campania 1999), 30-31.

[7] CCA 2002 (Campania 2001), 110, no. 74.

[8] CCA 2003 (Campania 2002), 90-91, 128-129.

[9] Doruțiu-Boilă 1980, 253.

[10] Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977, 128, 136, 142-143.

[11] Les abréviations sont T. pour tombe et Tm. pour tumulus.

[12] Bucovală, Paşca 1991, 228-230.

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3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16). Pour le reste des cas, soit l'existence ou l'absence d'une obturation n'a pas été mentionnée, soit on n'a pas pu la remarquer. Le matériau le plus souvent utilisé pour bloquer l'entrée a été la pierre non-taillée – 19 cas (Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, Callatis-*rue N. Iorga* T. 7 – Fig. 2/2, Histria Tm. XXX[2] – Fig. 1/1, Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie* T. 1, 4, 15, 18, 20, 2 Mai – pierres partiellement taillées). Trois tombes de Callatis-*rue Oituz* (T. 6, T. 7, T. 8) ont un blocage plus élaboré, un mur formé de petits blocs. Un seul ensemble, T. 25 de Callatis-*nécropole ouest* avait la chambre funéraire bloquée par une dalle de pierre. L'obturation de la chambre funéraire avec une ou plusieurs tuiles est bien fréquente dans la nécropole de Tomis - 15 cas (*rue Cuza Vodă* T. 38, *nécropole ouest* T. 55, 61, 67, *nécropole sud-ouest* T. 14, 20, 22, *nécropole ouest* T. 3, 19, 30, 37, 44, *Bd. 1 Decembrie* T. 5, 14, *rue Traian* T. 11-13). Deux chambres - T. 17 de Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie* et T. 5 de Callatis-*rue Oituz* étaient bloquées avec un mélange de cailloux et tuiles.

Il faut rappeler un nombre de cas particuliers dans l'aménagement des chambres funéraires. La forme irrégulière de la chambre funéraire de T. 6 de Callatis-*zone Saturn* est due au fait que la paroi avait été creusée afin d'y déposer le cercueil avec deux défunts. Le puits d'accès dans la tombe découvert en 1927 à Callatis était couvert de dalles de pierre. A Histria, le cercueil du tumulus XXX[2] était couvert de dalles de pierre, tandis que dans T. 6 de Callatis-*rue Oituz*, on a observé des traces de brûlure que, faute d'une publication plus détaillée et d'une illustration, nous ne saurons que mentionner sans aucune autre explication.

Dépôt des défunts

En ce qui concerne le nombre de défunts, dans la plupart des chambres se trouvait un seul cadavre – 69 cas (57 tombes à Tomis, 10 sépultures à Callatis et les tombes de Histria et 2 Mai). 12 chambres funéraires ont révélé deux squelettes chacune (neuf à Tomis, deux à Callatis et une à Odessos). Sept chambres contenaient chacune trois décédés (cinq à Callatis et deux à Tomis), et une sépulture de la nécropole de Tomis contenait six squelettes (T. 10, *nécropole du sud-ouest*). Même si, à cause des destructions modernes ou aux pillages de l'antiquité, on ne peut préciser le nombre des défunts pour 31 complexes, il est néanmoins vrai que la majorité des tombes en chambre funéraire, avec puits et corridor, ont été aménagées pour un seul défunt, le pourcentage des tombes familiales restant encore petit (16,66%).

Dans la moitié des tombes en question (61), les cadavres avaient eu aussi un cercueil. Néanmoins, 11 complexes bénéficient d'une mention du manque du cercueil (Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie,* T. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 20), ce qui ne veut pas dire que l'absence du cercueil dans les autres 48 tombes ne soit la conséquence des destructions antiques ou contemporaines. Seulement à Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 15, on a pu observer des cadavres déposés dans des cercueils distincts, ce qui témoigne de moments différents du décès. Mais on peut également compter quatre cas où plusieurs squelettes se trouvaient dans le même cercueil, marquant peut-être la contemporanéité des décès (Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 6 - deux squelettes, T. 8 - trois squelettes, T. 16 - trois squelettes, Tomis-*nécropole ouest* T. 37 - deux squelettes). Dans T. 1 de Callatis-*Gare*, le squelette se trouvait sur une civière de planches. Nous devons encore une fois dire que nous ne saurions résoudre dans le présent ouvrage l'incertitude à l'égard des autres 15 tombes avec plusieurs décédés (cadavres mis dans des cercueils séparés ou détail non remarqué).

L'orientation des décédés, bien diverse à première vue, permet cependant d'en observer des préférences. Il faut mentionner dès le début que dans les 81 tombes publiées avec ce détail, on n'a pas toujours pu faire la distinction entre l'orientation des défunts et celle de la chambre. L'orientation ouest-est, avec des déviations ouest-sud-ouest – est-nord-est ou bien ouest-nord-ouest – est-sud-est, est majoritaire (45 cas, mais pour 13 l'orientation de la chambre). Les axes suivants d'orientation sont nord-ouest – sud-est, avec neuf tombes (dont deux sont des chambres avec cette orientation) et est-ouest, avec neuf tombes. Il suit l'orientation nord-sud, avec six ensembles (dont une chambre avec cette orientation). Le reste des orientations sont, pour le moment, sporadiquement attestées: sud-est – nord-ouest (quatre cas), sud-ouest – nord-est (trois cas, tous à Tomis), sud-nord (trois tombes, une à Callatis et deux à Tomis) et nord-est – sud-ouest (deux cas, à Tomis).

Au cas où plusieurs inhumés se trouvaient dans une seule chambre funéraire, ils étaient orientés, quel que fût l'intervalle chronologique du dépôt, dans la même direction, sauf T. 15 de Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium*, où, sur les trois squelettes, deux se trouvaient ouest-est, perpendiculairement déposés sur celui orienté sud-est – nord-ouest.

La position dans laquelle se trouvaient les défunts trahit, tout comme l'orientation, une certaine tendance vers l'uniformisation. La position la plus fréquente (27 cas) est en décubitus dorsal, les bras étendus le long du corps, suivie par la position en décubitus dorsal et les bras fléchis sur le ventre (remarquée pour 17 tombes). Une moins fréquente position est celle en décubitus dorsal, et les deux bras sur la poitrine (cinq cas). Deux défunts ont été déposés en position de décubitus dorsal, le bras gauche étendu le long du corps et le bras droit fléchi sur le ventre (dans T. 5 de Tomis-*Entrée Smârdan-M. Eminescu*, le bras gauche manque). Un seul squelette a été découvert dans les positions suivantes: décubitus dorsal, un bras (on ne précise pas lequel) étendu le long du corps et l'autre sur le ventre, et décubitus dorsal, la paume gauche sur le ventre et le bras droit fléchi vers le cou (Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium*, T. 8, un squelette sur trois).

Outre deux cas, le dépôt de plusieurs défunts dans la même chambre suivait des règles strictes quant à l'uniformisation de la position d'enterrement, et nous donnons l'exemple des six squelettes, tous

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dans la même position, de T. 10, à Tomis-*nécropole de sud-ouest*. L'une des exceptions mentionnées ci-dessus se trouve dans la nécropole de Callatis-*zone Saturn* (T. 8 – homme en décubitus dorsal, les bras sur le ventre et femme en position décubitus dorsal, la paume gauche sur le ventre et le bras droit fléchi vers le cou, les jambes du cadavre féminin superposent partiellement celles de l'homme, tandis que le squelette d'enfant ne s'est pas conservé). L'autre exception provient de la nécropole de Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie,* T. 2 (un squelette en décubitus dorsal, les bras le long du corps, et l'autre en décubitus dorsal, un bras le long du corps et l'autre sur le ventre).

Les précisions concernant l'âge sont assez rares et, selon toutes les probabilités, n'ont pas été déterminées par des analyses anthropologiques. 22 adultes ont été enterrés dans 16 chambres funéraires – Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 1 (les deux squelettes), T. 6 (un squelette sur deux), T. 8 (deux squelettes sur trois), T. 12, T. 13, T. 16 (deux squelettes sur trois), *rue Oituz* T. 5, Tomis-*nécropole sud-ouest* T. 21 (deux squelettes sur trois), *nécropole ouest* T. 1, T. 3, T. 22 (deux squelettes), T. 23, T. 33, T. 37 (un squelette sur deux), T. 38, T. 44 (deux squelettes sur trois). Dans T. 3 et T. 18 de Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium*, on a supposé l'existence d'un squelette de jeune dans chacun, tandis que 12 défunts étaient des enfants – Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 6 (un squelette sur deux), T. 8 (un squelette sur trois), T. 16 (de même), *rue Oituz* T. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, Histria Tm. XXX[2], Tomis-*nécropole sud-ouest* T. 21 (un squelette sur trois), *nécropole ouest* T. 37 (un squelette sur deux), T. 44 (un squelette sur trois).

Dans huit seulement des 20 tombes avec plusieurs décédés déposés dans une chambre on peut saisir la proportion d'âge des défunts. La situation la plus fréquente est celle où on avait enterré deux adultes et un enfant – quatre cas (Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium* T. 8 et T. 16, Tomis-*nécropole sud-ouest* T. 21 et *nécropole ouest* T. 44). Il s'agit d'un nombre égal de tombes (deux pour chacun cas) où l'on avait inhumé un adulte et un enfant (Callatis-*zone Saturn* T. 6, Tomis-*nécropole ouest* T. 37) ou deux adultes (Callatis-*zone Saturn* T. 1 et Tomis-*nécropole ouest* T. 22).

Le mobilier

Bien que nombre de tombes d'inhumation en chambre n'aient pas bénéficié d'une publication détaillée (quelques découvertes plus récentes ne sont que mentionnées en passant), les données sont pourtant suffisantes pour déceler quelques aspects qui complètent l'image d'ensemble de ce type, trop peu analysé, de tombes.

Selon la statistique des objets de mobilier, la poterie était le plus souvent déposée dans les tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure – au moins 65 ensembles funéraires. Dans un nombre presque égal de tombes, 63, on a trouvé des vases de verre, tandis que dans 56 tombes il y avait des lampes. Le décalage par rapport aux autres catégories de pièces de mobilier déposées est bien visible: des monnaies dans 33 tombes, des pièces de parure dans 25 sépultures et des ustensiles de toilette dans 19 tombes. Les objets d'habillement et les ustensiles ménagers sont plutôt sporadiques, car on les a trouvés dans sept, respectivement cinq tombes de ce type.

Tout comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, la céramique est la catégorie de mobilier le plus souvent rencontrée. Les 109 récipients céramiques sont des vases à boire – 62 brocs, avec ou sans anse, dans 47 tombes et 16 cruches dans 13 tombes d'inhumation en chambre. Beaucoup moins nombreux sont les bols (neuf exemplaires dans sept tombes) et les coupes (10 exemplaires dans quatre sépultures). Pour le moment, des présences exceptionnelles sont les *unguentaria* céramiques (trois exemplaires dans deux sépultures), les amphores (deux exemplaires dans autant de tombes), *guttus,* plateau ou pot à deux anses (un exemplaire chacun). On avait déposé, d'ordinaire, un seul vase, sauf 16 tombes où il y avait deux vases céramiques (néanmoins, il existe trois ensembles avec deux défunts chacun, ce qui, en fait, ne contredit pas la règle du dépôt d'un seul vase comme mobilier pour un seul défunt). Dans six sépultures on a découvert trois vases céramiques dans chacune (bien que la moitié du nombre de ces tombes, c'est-à-dire trois, ait révélé deux ou plusieurs défunts). Le plus grand nombre de récipients céramiques déposés dans des tombes d'inhumation en chambre sont: quatre (un ensemble), cinq (dans deux tombes, mais une avec six et l'autre avec trois décédés) et six (une sépulture, avec deux squelettes).

L'image d'ensemble des types ou du nombre de récipients en verre est, en quelque sorte, déformée par le nombre relativement grand de tombes d'inhumation en chambre (24) où l'on a découvert des vases fragmentaires de verre. Dans 63 tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure on avait déposé au moins 110 vases de verre, dont 75 seulement ont pu être typologiquement déterminés. On rencontre le plus souvent des *unguentaria* de verre (38, dans 26 tombes) suivis, en ordre décroissant de la fréquence, par les carafes-*decanter type* (13, dans 10 sépultures), vases dont la bouche est en forme d'entonnoir (neuf, dans sept tombes), brocs (quatre dans autant de tombes), bols (trois dans trois tombes), gobelets (la même situation que les bols), amphorettes (deux dans deux sépultures), *gutti* (tout comme les amphorettes) et petit vase trilobé (un exemplaire). La règle est pareille que pour les récipients céramiques – déposer, de préférence, un seul vase de verre, en tant que mobilier d'un défunt, sauf les cas suivants: 14 tombes avec deux vases chacune (mais certaines de ces ensembles étaient en réalité des tombes de famille, avec plusieurs décédés), cinq tombes avec trois vases chacun, une sépulture avec quatre récipients de verre (mais avec plusieurs décédés), une tombe avec cinq et une tombe avec six récipients de verre. Dans quatre ensembles, les récipients de verre s'associaient à des baguettes tordues fait du même matériau.

On a découvert jusqu'à présent 82 lampes dans 56 tombes d'inhumation en chambre, dont 81 en argile et une en bronze, trouvée en 1927 dans la

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tombe de Callatis. A quelques exceptions, il y a une lampe dans une tombe, deux sépultures avec deux lampes chacune déposées à côté d'un décédé, une tombe avec trois lampes, mais avec deux squelettes, une sépulture avec quatre et une autre avec cinq lampes. Un aspect qui a déjà attiré l'attention maintes fois, est celui des lampes aux symboles chrétiens dans deux tombes de Tomis-*Bd. 1 Decembrie.* Si les trois croix monogrammatiques sur la lampe de T. 14 (Fig. 2/4)[13] appartiennent, sans doute, au symbolisme chrétien, les deux poissons superposés sur le disque de T. 7 (Fig. 2/3) sont encore mis en doute[14].

Dans la plupart des 33 tombes où on avait déposé des monnaies, plus précisément dans 25, on n'a trouvé qu'une seule pièce. Pour les huit exceptions, le nombre de monnaies est le suivant: cinq tombes avec deux monnaies chacun, deux ensembles avec cinq monnaies chacun (mais l'un avec deux défunts), une sépulture avec deux décédés et six monnaies, et une tombe avec 11 monnaies.

Bien que les objets de parure soient en grand nombre en or, ils ne particularisent pas les 22 tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure, d'une manière susceptible de trahir un statut particulier. Trois tombes seulement en font exception, sur les 25 où on avait trouvé des pièces de parure – une sépulture de Tomis-*rue Cuza Vodă* (T. 38), une tombe de la nécropole de sud-ouest de Tomis (T. 22) et la tombe découverte en 1927 à Callatis. Ce qui attire l'attention dans les trois cas ce n'est pas autant la valeur ou le type des parures, ou des autres objets, que l'accumulation inhabituelle de pièces de mobilier. Dans T. 38 de Tomis[15], l'adolescente inhumée était accompagnée d'un mobilier formé de deux vases céramiques, cinq *unguentaria* en verre, un vase en bois avec un petit dépôt composé de 11 monnaies émises par les empereurs Aurélien, Florianus et Probus, une épingle à cheveux en argent, avec chaîne et plaque en or, cinq bracelets, boucles d'oreille, bague, perles de verre, collier avec pendentif, fibule, peigne, feuille ronde d'or, boîte en bois décorée d'applications de bronze et chaussures. Les deux femmes décédées de T. 22, dans la nécropole de Tomis[16] avaient été inhumées avec six récipients céramiques, une lampe, trois vases de verre, perles, boucles d'oreille en or, épingle à cheveux en argent au bout en or, miroir de bronze, une autre miroir avec cadre de plomb et un nombre contradictoire de monnaies – six, bien que dans la description de la tombe on ait mentionné cinq, et dans la liste des monnaies, quatre. Dans la tombe découverte il y a longtemps à Callatis[17], les six gemmes, provenues probablement des bagues, et le collier en or et cornaline s'associaient à un vase céramique, deux lampes en argile, un ensemble formé d'une lampe et un chandelier de bronze, un *unguentarium* et une baguette de verre, de petits fragments de trois vases de bronze, perle en verre, fruit sec et cinq monnaies de bronze, autant antérieures que contemporaines au règne d' Antonin le Pieux, et de ses successeurs.

Les types des ustensiles de toilette les plus fréquents sont les miroirs (neuf exemplaires dans sept tombes) et les boîtes en bois dans lesquelles on gardait des objets liés à la toilette féminine (six exemplaires). Dans trois tombes on a trouvé des strigiles et des peignes, tandis que dans une sépulture de Tomis, une plaque de pierre s'associait plutôt à une spatule qu'à une épingle de bronze, comme l'avaient cru au début les auteurs des fouilles[18].

Les objets d'habillement sont les fibules (dans deux ensembles), les boutons (autant), boucles de ceinture (autant) et chaussures (trois tombes). L'une des deux boucles de ceinture faisait partie d'un set de garniture de ceinture, non pas pour l'armement, mais pour le port d'un couteau. Le décédé de la tombe mentionnée de Tomis-*rue M. Eminescu*, inhumé vers le troisième quart du IIe siècle apr. J.-C., reste pour le moment le seul défunt, dans une tombe du type en question, lié à l'armée romaine[19].

Dans les cinq tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure, la typologie des outils ménagers est relativement variée – épingles (deux tombes), couteau, clé, fusaïole, frotteur.

Sur les 120 tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure, une dizaine manquait de mobilier.

L'image générale offerte par le mobilier des tombes d'inhumation en chambre avec puits et corridor est modeste. Tout comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, quelques tombes sont mises en évidence, non par la valeur particulière des pièces de mobilier y déposés, mais par leur grand nombre. On a déjà discuté T. 38 de Tomis-*rue Cuza Vodă,* avec 33 pièces, datée vers la fin du IIIe siècle apr. J.-C., T. 22 de la nécropole de sud-ouest de la même cité, avec 22 pièces de mobilier, datée au milieu du IIIe siècle apr. J.-C. et la sépulture découverte à Callatis et publié au début par G. Severeanu, avec 23 pièces de mobilier, et daté probablement dans la seconde moitié du règne de Marc-Aurèle[20], donc dans le dernier quart du IIe siècle apr. J.-C. On a déjà amendé la théorie conformément à laquelle le rituel funéraire, y compris le mobilier abondant et riche, est l'expression directe du statut social, et nous allons citer à cet égard deux exemples, qui font référence aux tombes d'époque romaine[21]. Lorsque nous avons attiré l'attention sur la modestie d'ensemble du mobilier dans les tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure, nous n'avons pas voulu suggérer que ces ensembles funéraires appartenaient nécessairement et sans exception à des individus, ou familles avec un statut

[13] Chera, Lungu 1984, 128-129; Barnea 1991, 274.

[14] Chera, Lungu 1984, 128; Barnea 1991, 274.

[15] Barbu 1961, 213; Bucovală 1968, 87-88, nos. 150-153 et 124, no. 255; Barbu 1972, 109-110; Poenaru, Bordea, Ocheşeanu 1991, 349-353; Chiriac *et al.* 1999, 340.

[16] Bucovală, Paşca 1991, 223-227.

[17] Severeanu 1929, 1-10; Băluță 1994, 206, no. 48; Oța, Gramaticu 2003, 65-90.

[18] Bucovală, Paşca 1991, T. 44, 227; Oța 2006, 223-224.

[19] Petculescu 1998, 153.

[20] Oța, Gramaticu 2003, 85.

[21] Février 1987, 81; Pearce 2000, 4-8.

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social ou matériel inférieur. Il n'est pas du tout exclu que certaines de ces tombes aient appartenu à des personnes de l'élite des cités grecques sur la côte occidentale de la Mer Noire, car la tombe, comme souligne J. Pearce, est plutôt *une transformation* qu'un reflet direct de l'identité ethnique ou sociale, transformation qui dépend des attitudes culturelles spécifiques par rapport à la mort ou au décédé[22]. Il se peut que les successeurs des inhumés dans les sépultures en question aient délibérément choisi une expression funéraire moins ostensible, d'un statut tout particulier durant la vie. Il se peut aussi que les tombes susmentionnées, avec une accumulation de pièces de mobilier à part dans l'ensemble des tombes d'inhumation en chambre, représentent un choix, en quelque sorte compensatoire, dans le domaine funéraire, d'un statut qui, de son vivant, s'est avéré inférieur à ses aspirations personnelles ou celles de sa famille. Dans un seul cas, celui du complexe de 2 Mai, daté au II^e siècle apr. J.-C., deux arguments confirment que la tombe appartenait à un personnage de l'élite rurale de la Mésie Inférieure - l'aménagement tumulaire et le dépôt d'un char dans le manteau du tumulus[23].

Origine et datation des tombes

Chronologiquement, les tombes d'inhumation en chambre, avec puits et corridor se concentrent dans une période entre le milieu du II^e et la fin du III^e siècle apr. J.-C., la majorité appartenant au III^e siècle. Les exceptions à cette datation relativement tardive sont, pour le moment, la tombe secondaire du tumulus XXX de Histria, daté dans la seconde moitié du I^er siècle apr. J.-C.[24] et une ensemble de Callatis-*rue N. Iorga,* T. 7[25], datée au I^er siècle apr. J.-C.

Dans la typologie proposée pour les tombes de la nécropole de Tomis, V. Barbu appelle «tombe en niche» le type d'ensemble funéraire en question, qu'il considère une variante des tombes d'inhumation en fosse simple, parce que, dans la fosse initiale, transformée maintenant dans un puits d'accès, on creuse, à un bout ou sur un côté, une niche dans laquelle on introduit le cercueil[26].

V. Barbu[27] suppose que le type de tombes soumis à l'analyse ait une origine orientale, peut-être syrienne. La différence consiste en la nature du sol, car le lœss de Tomis n'a pas permis l'évolution de ce type de tombes vers plusieurs chambres souterraines, bien que l'on observe une tendance analogue dans le cas des tombes avec plusieurs chambres caractéristiques à l'époque romaine tardive[28]. D'autres chercheurs de la nécropole de Tomis ont à leur tour repris cette hypothèse[29]. Néanmoins, les différences entre les tombes orientales et celles de Tomis ou Callatis sont prégnantes. Les chambres funéraires creusées en profondeur dans le rocher sont typiques aux régions orientales de l'Empire romain, souligne J. Toynbee, et appartiennent aux élites[30]. La différence majeure est donnée par la façade laborieusement sculptée des tombes orientales, bien que les défunts fussent parfois déposés dans des niches creusées dans le mur ou aux coins de la chambre[31]. La comparaison avec les tombeaux que Toynbee situe dans la catégorie des hypogées n'est pas valide non plus, malgré le fait que ceux-ci soient devenus le type préféré de tombeau dans les nécropoles orientales, surtout syriennes, quel que fût le statut social du défunt. Les hypogées de Dura[32] ont été classifiés en neuf types, et ce qui pourrait ressembler aux tombes de Tomis et Callatis, c'est-à-dire le type I (chambre longue et étroite, avec un *loculus* grossièrement creusé pour une seule personne), n'est pas trop répandu, et il est aussi le plus ancien (l'évolution des tombes de Dura commence au III^e siècle av. J.-C. et dure jusqu'au milieu du III^e siècle apr. J.-C.). Pour le reste des types, ils ont différentes particularités, soit de grandes chambres, soit plusieurs niches creusées dans les murs des chambres pour y déposer les défunts. En ce qui concerne les tombes de Palmyre, elles ne font pas l'objet de cette analyse en raison de leurs dimensions impressionnantes et du grand nombre de chambres, dont certaines pouvaient avoir des fins cultuelles[33]. Le type IA des ensembles funéraires dans la nécropole de Sitifis, en Algérie[34] ressemble aux tombes d'inhumation en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure. Ces sépultures de tradition autochtone consistaient en un puits au fond duquel s'ouvrait, sur le côté long, un *loculus* étroit, et sont datée vers le commencement du II^e siècle apr. J.-C., voire la fin du I^er siècle apr. J.-C., donc dans à la période ancienne de la ville fondée par l'empereur Nerva. Malgré quelques différences, en particulier l'emplacement oblique du puits par rapport à la chambre funéraire, on peut invoquer en guise d'analogie T. 33 de Gordion en Galatie[35]. La tombe mentionnée est d'un type singulier dans la nécropole de Gordion, mais sa datation est incertaine, car il n'est pas exclu que ce soit un tombeau hellénistique réutilisé dans la période romaine[36]. L'origine du type constructif en question dans la nécropole de Gordion pourrait se trouver dans les régions au nord et à l'est de la Mer Noire, tout comme l'origine d'un autre type de tombe de la même nécropole, celui d'inhumation en fosse en marches[37].

On a formulé, il a quelque temps, l'hypothèse de l'origine nord-pontique des tombes d'inhumation

[22] Pearce 2000, 8.

[23] Sîrbu, Oța 2004, 409-411.

[24] Alexandrescu 1966, 221; Suceveanu 2000, 152, no. 7.

[25] CCA 2006 (Campania 2005), 215; Radu 2007, 494.

[26] Barbu 1971, 53; Barbu 1970 (1971), 460.

[27] Barbu 1971, 54.

[28] Barbu 1971, 54-55.

[29] Lungu, Chera 1982, 184; Petculescu 1998, 153.

[30] Toynbee 1971, 188 et 199.

[31] Toynbee 1971, 189-190, 191-194.

[32] Toynbee 1971, 219-221.

[33] Toynbee 1971, 223-234.

[34] Guery 1987, 69.

[35] Goldman 2007, 311-312.

[36] Goldman 2007, 312.

[37] Goldman 2007, 318.

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en chambre de la Mésie Inférieure[38]. En effet, les tombes avec puits d'accès et chambre sont assez fréquentes dans la zone nord-pontique, dans un intervalle chronologique large, les Ier – IVe siècles apr. J.-C. Les tombes tumulaires avec puits et chambre bloquée d'une dalle de pierre, et avec l'accès bloqué en plus par une autre dalle de pierre, à la surface du sol, de la nécropole de Chersonèse, sont datée au Ier siècle apr. J.-C., avec des analogies parmi les tombes sarmates de Crimée[39]. Nous pourrions aussi apporter dans la discussion la chambre ovale, irrégulière, avec voûte et l'entrée bloquée par une dalle de pierre et deux pierres non façonnées, dans la nécropole de Zolotaja Balka dans la région du Bas Dniepr, et datée au Ier siècle apr. J.-C., peut-être au commencement du siècle suivant[40]. Autres exemples, très fréquents, datés au IIe siècle, se trouvent dans la nécropole de Tanais[41]. Il arrive très souvent que les chambres soient bloquées avec de grosses dalles de pierres, mises sur la verticale, dans les tumuli de la zone Inkerman, mais elles sont datées plus tard, aux IIIe – IVe siècles[42] apr. J.-C. Il n'est pas facile de déceler la manière dont ce type de tombes a pénétré de la zone nord-pontique, dans des villes comme Tomis et Callatis. En témoignage d'une présence sarmate, ce sont les pièces de mobilier, tel le miroir avec tamga de T. 3 (Fig. 4/2), à Callatis-*zone Saturn et Sanatorium,* la clochette et les perles de lapis-lazuli dans T. 6 (Fig. 3/2, 4), la clochette de T. 16[43] et les pendentifs de bronze dans T. 10 dans la nécropole de sud-ouest de Tomis (Fig. 3/5)[44]. Les tombes d'inhumation en chambre de Tomis ainsi que la sépulture secondaire de ce type dans Tm. XXX de Histria[45] sont mis en liaison avec la présence sarmate dans la Dobroudja. Cependant, nous devons faire quelques remarques quant aux pièces de mobilier mentionnées. En premier lieu, il s'agit du nombre très réduit, pour le moment, des pièces avec des analogies dans le monde sarmate. En deuxième lieu, c'est l'association, dans tous les tombes énumérés, des pièces considérées allogènes, avec des pièces considérées comme des indices certains du rituel funéraire romain, telles les lampes ou les monnaies (Fig. 3/1-4, 4, 5). En dernier lieu, c'est le cercle vicieux quant aux clochettes de bronze, considérés comme des pièces sarmates au cas des tombes de Callatis, donc d'une nécropole sur le territoire de l'Empire romain, vus comme des importations romaines dans les tombes en dehors de l'Empire[46]. Quant aux soi-disant pendentifs sarmates dans la tombe de Tomis (Fig. 3/5), les analogies se trouvent autant dans le territoire romain[47], qu'à l'extérieur[48]. Deux variantes d'interprétation prennent contour dans cette étape de la recherche: soit la pièce de parure ou de toilette est choisie selon le goût de la personne, et ainsi la connotation ethnique initiale se perd lorsque quelqu'un d'une province romaine imite des éléments d'habillement sarmates, soit un groupe de Sarmates s'est établi dans l'Empire, tout en gardant des traits de leurs habillements et éventuellement du rituel funéraire, mais en adoptant assez vite des traits du mobilier funéraire romain spécifique. Même si, dans l'actuel stade de la recherche, on peut accepter la probabilité de l'origine nord-pontique des tombes d'inhumation en chambre, avec puits et corridor, il nous semble pourtant difficile à argumenter la similarité entre le type de tombes mentionné et la présence sarmate effective, surtout si l'on prend en compte l'ampleur des tombes d'inhumation en chambre dans la nécropole de Tomis (78, qui n'est pas soutenue par des éléments de mobilier spécifiques), en comparaison avec la nécropole de Callatis (39 tombes) et surtout avec les tumuli de Histria (une seule tombe). On ne saurait exclure non plus des autres possibles voies de pénétration de ce type de tombes du nord de la Mer Noire en Mésie Inférieure, et nous pouvons citer deux exemples d'interprétation. Les nouveaux types de tombes dans la nécropole mentionnée de Gordion, à savoir le type 2 (tombes d'inhumation en fosses en marches) et le type 6 (tombes d'inhumation en chambre) sont mis en liaison avec une éventuelle présence militaire élargie, venue de l'extérieur du territoire micro-asiatique, présence imposée par des besoins défensifs locaux[49]. L'autre exemple prend en compte un rite funéraire particulier, l'incinération, et une période précédente, le milieu du IVe – début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C., dans la nécropole tumulaire de Braničevo, où T. 2 du Tm. X, avec les débris de la crémation déposés dans une niche creusée dans une côté de la fosse, que l'on a considérée, non comme la preuve d'une migration effective scythique (malgré la présence des pièces de mobilier spécifiques), mais comme résultat des rapports étroits entre les Thraces et les Scythes[50].

Dans la tentative de chercher l'origine des tombes en chambre, avec puits et corridor, de la Mésie Inférieure, il faudrait également tenir compte de la longue tradition chronologique de ces tombes dans le territoire habité par les Thraces, tombes que les aristocrates préféraient. Mais les chambres funéraires dans le territoire habité par les Thraces sont faites en pierre, ce qui les différencie essentiellement des tombes d'inhumation en chambre de l'époque romaine. Les ensembles appartenant au type mentionné étaient tous tumulaires, et leur tradition chronologique commence au Ve siècle av. J.-C. et continue jusqu'au

[38] Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977, 144.

[39] Zubar 1982, 17-19 et fig. 8.

[40] Vjaz'mitina 1972, T. 8, 19 et 22.

[41] Arsen'eva 1977, T. 154, 254 et 260, fig. V/4 et VII/2-3.

[42] Vejmari 1963, 15-42, surtout T. 25 et 26, fig. 22/в, г; Yuročkin 2005, 388.

[43] Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977, T. 3, 130-131, no. 13, T. 6, 132-133, nos. 5-6, T. 16, 140-141, no. 9; Harhoiu 1993, 47.

[44] Bucovală, Paşca 1991, 215, 217, 219, nos. 10-11.

[45] Harhoiu 1993, 47-48; Bârcă 2002, 110.

[46] Vaday 1988-1989, 59.

[47] Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 150, no. 132, de Ratiaria, en or et daté au milieu du IIIe siècle; Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 59, no. 26, de Gilău, en bronze.

[48] Căpitanu 1975, 85, fig. 13/3, pièce en fer de Bărboasa-Gălăneşti, mais qui n'a pas les bords ondulés.

[49] Goldman 2007, 318.

[50] Dremsizova 1962, 175, 184, 186 et fig. 17.

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III^e siècle av. J.-C., et les rites funéraires pratiqués sont autant la crémation que l'inhumation[51]. En Dobroudja aussi, pendant l'âge du fer, on rencontre quelques tombes tumulaires, probablement d'inhumation, avec chambre funéraire et voûte de pierre[52]. On atteste également dans le territoire thrace, même si plus rarement, des tombes à la chambre creusée dans la terre, et qui ne sont pas maçonnées, aux VI^e siècle av. J.-C., mais aussi au I^er siècle av. J.-C.[53]. Bien qu'elle ne corresponde pas parfaitement, la tradition thrace des tombes en chambre pourrait être une hypothèse de travail, surtout pour la tombe de 2 Mai, dont le mobilier récupéré (un char) et l'aménagement tumulaire constituent des arguments supplémentaires en faveur d'une renaissance, sous la forme modifiée, d'une tradition funéraire antérieure à la conquête romaine[54].

Il y a encore assez d'aspects confus quant à l'origine du type de tombes soumis à l'analyse. Si le rituel funéraire de la tombe de 2 Mai peut être partiellement clarifié, par une éventuelle référence à la tradition thrace, on pourrait, pour les tombes de Callatis, Tomis, Odessos et Histria, avancer la solution d'une origine nord-pontique. Les modalités de véhiculer ce rituel funéraire en Mésie Inférieure restent encore sous le signe du doute.

[51] Sîrbu, Oța 2004, 412; Sîrbu 2004, 88.

[52] Irimia 1983, 90.

[53] Mikov 1955, 29.

[54] Mócsy 1962, 723-724; Nuber 1972, 186.

Catalogue

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g) *rue N. Iorga* T. 7 (CCA 2006 (Campania 2005), 215; Radu 2007, 494);

2. 2 Mai (Harțuche 1967, 231-155; Sîrbu, Oța 2004, 407-418);

3. Histria Tm. XXX² (Alexandrescu 1966, 221; Suceveanu 2000, 152, no. 7);

4. Odessos-*rue Benkovski* (Mirčev 1968, 217-219; Minčev 1988, 56-57, nos. 34-35);

5. Tomis

a) *rue Cuza Vodă* T. 38 (Barbu 1961, 213; Barbu 1971, 53; Barbu 1972, 109-110; Bucovală 1968, 87-88, nos. 150-153, 124, no. 255; Poenaru-Bordea, Ocheşeanu 1991, 349-353),

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e) *zone entre rue Basarabi, Blv. Republicii et Blv. 1 Decembrie 1918* T. 1 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113, 116, 119, 121, 122), T. 2 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113, 114,116, 119, 124), T. 3 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109, 111, 112, 114, 116, 119), T. 4 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113, 116, 119, 129), T. 5 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113, 119), T. 6 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 114, 116), T. 7 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 114, 116, 119, 128; Lungu 1992, 303), T. 8 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113, 114-116, 124), T. 9 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109, 111-112, 113, 114), T. 10 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109, 111-112, 113, 114), T. 10 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109, 110, 111-112,121, 122), T. 11 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112,119), T. 12 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113), T. 13 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 113), T. 14 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 128, 129; Lungu 1992, 303), T. 15 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111), T. 16 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111), T. 17 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111), T. 18 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112, 124), T. 20 (Chera, Lungu 1984, 109-110, 111-112,122),

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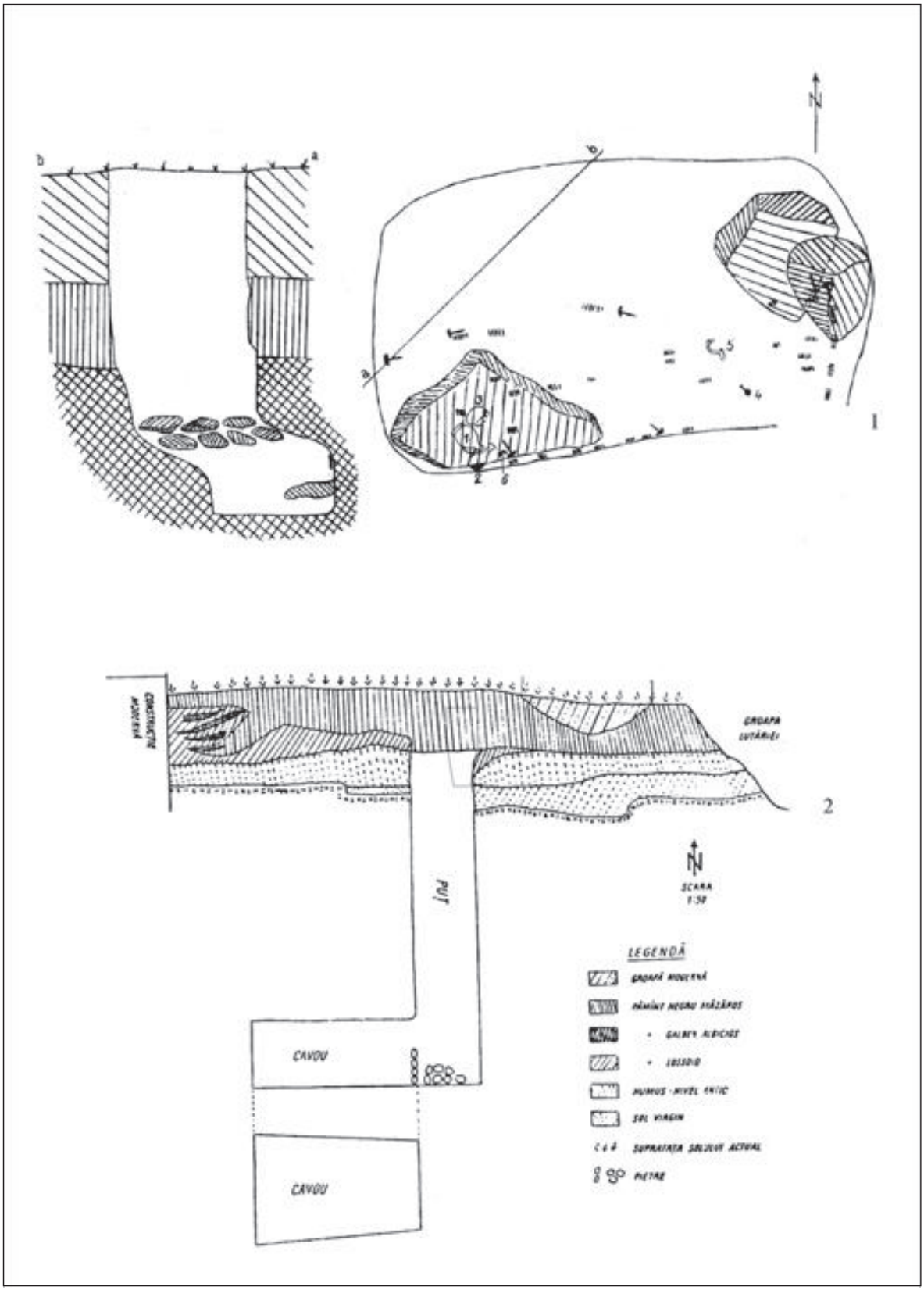

Fig. 1. 1. Histria, Tm. XXX[2] (d'après Alexandrescu 1966); 2. 2 Mai (d'après Harțuche 1967).

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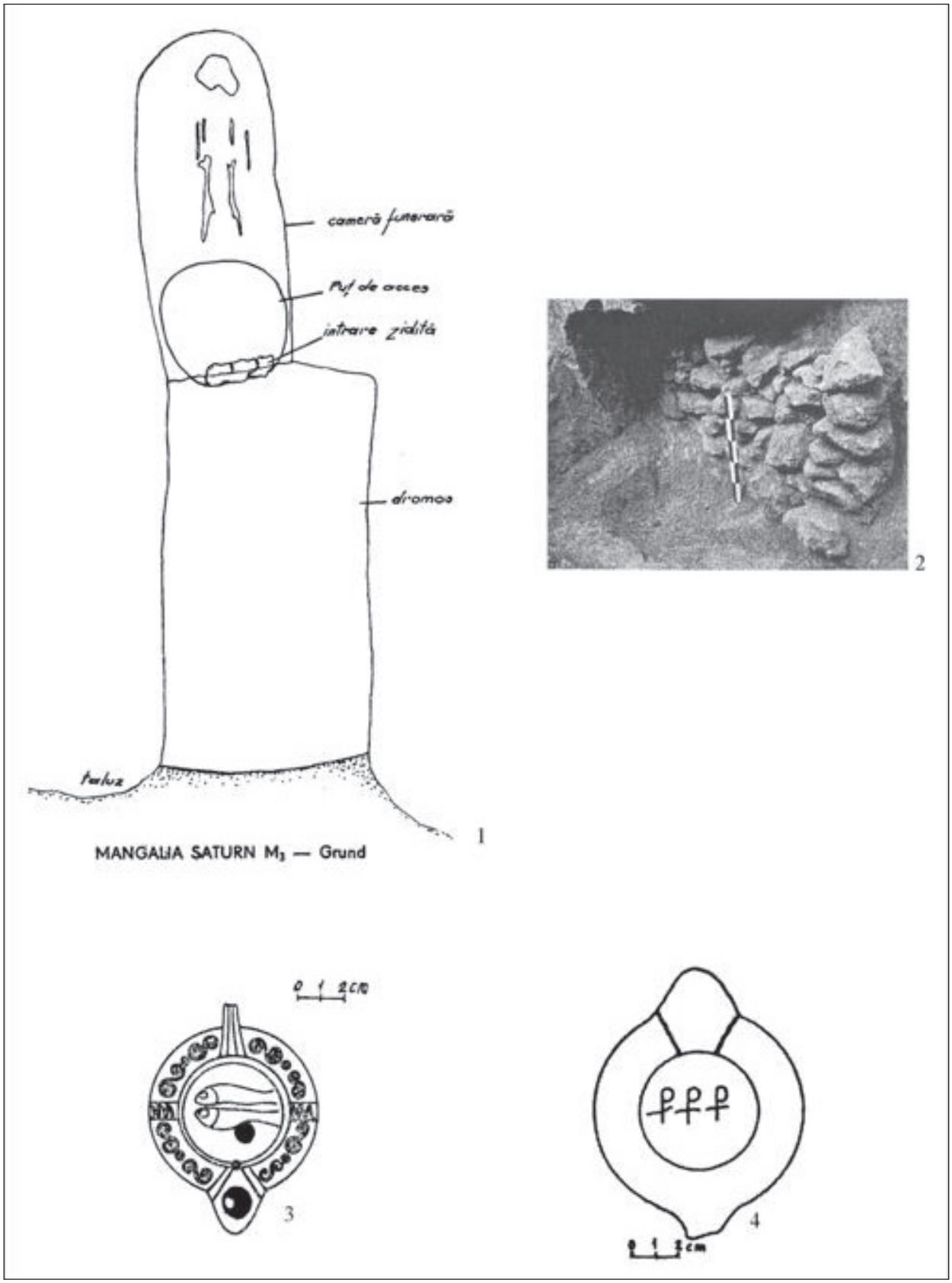

Fig. 2. 1. Callatis, T. 3 (d'après Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977); 2. Callatis, T. 7 (d'après Radu 2007); 3. Tomis, T. 7 (d'après Chera, Lungu 1984); 4. Tomis T. 14 (d'après Chera, Lungu 1984).

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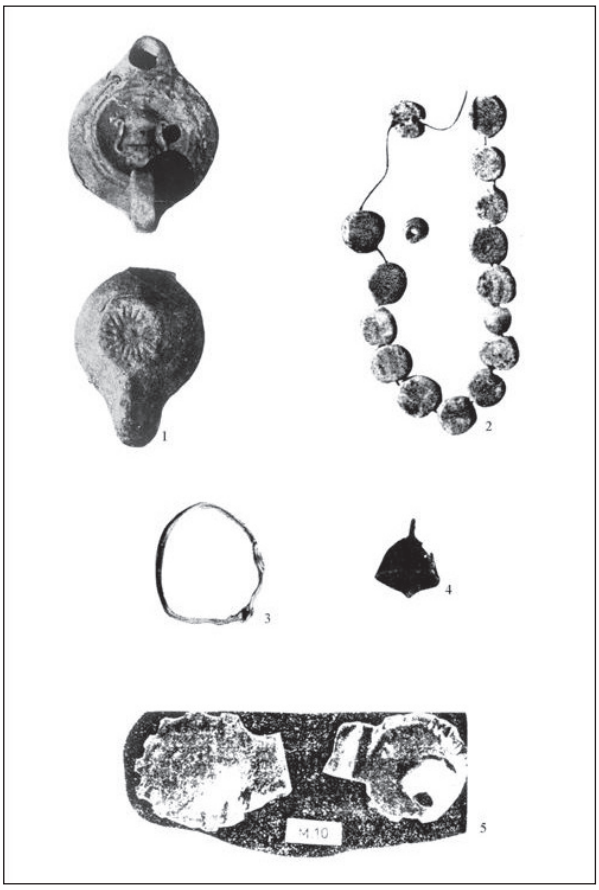

Fig. 3. 1-4. Callatis, T. 6 (d'après Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977); 5. Tomis, T. 10 (d'après Bucovală, Paşca 1991).

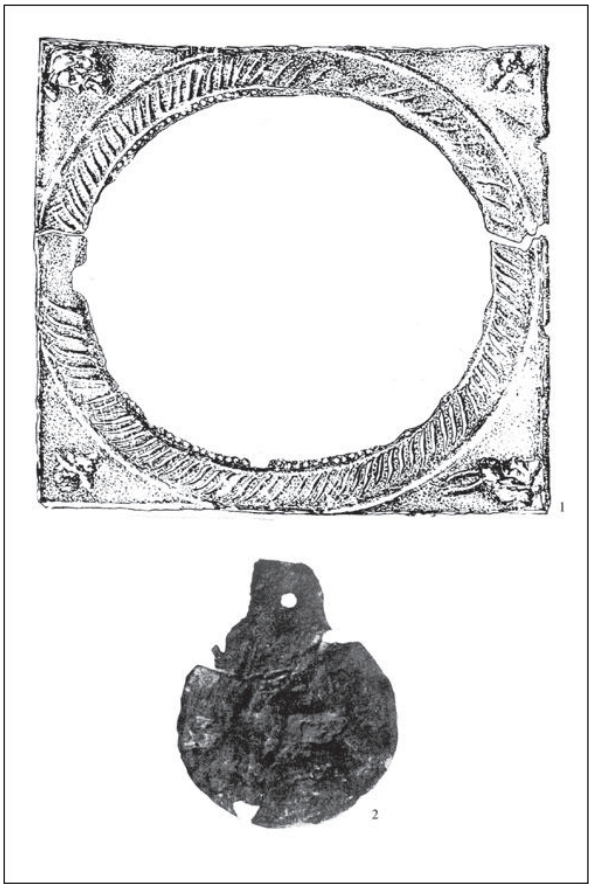

Fig. 4. Callatis, T. 3 (d'après Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977).

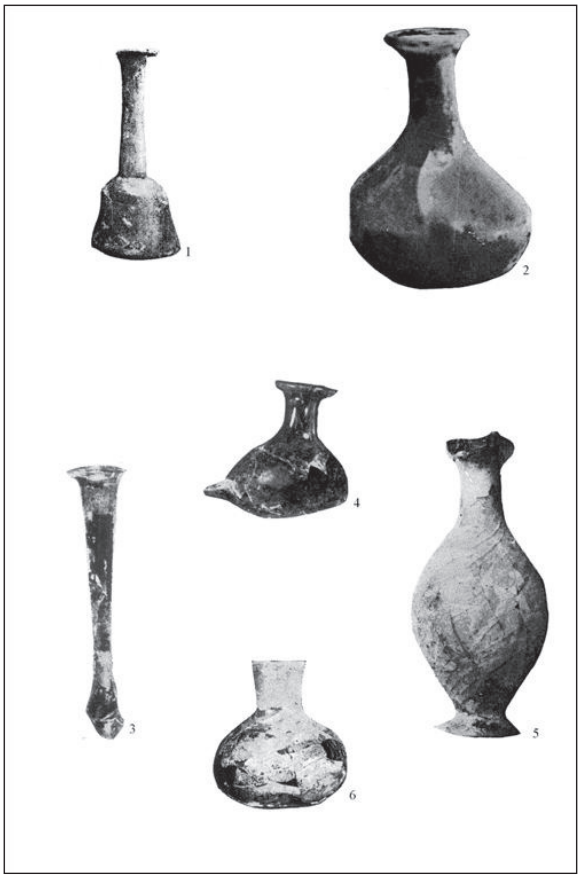

Fig. 5. Callatis, T. 3 (d'après Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977).

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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ETHNOARCHÉOLOGIE DES SOURCES SALÉES DE LA MOLDAVIE PRÉCARPATIQUE : UNE TAXONOMIE DES HABITATS

MARIUS ALEXIANU, OLIVIER WELLER, ROBIN BRIGAND, ROXANA-GABRIELA CURCĂ

Mots-clé: Ethnoarchéologie, sources salées, Moldavie précarpatique.

Résumé: Les recherches ethnoarchéologiques centrées sur l'exploitation des sources salées dans la zone de la Moldavie précarpatique ont mené à une nouvelle classification des habitats par rapport à cette ressource naturelle indispensable pour la vie des communautés préhistoriques, y compris celles appartenant au «Bronze Thrace» ou à «La Tène géto-dace».

Cuvinte-cheie: Etnoarheologie, izvoare de apă sărată, Moldova subcarpatică.

Rezumat: Cercetările etnoarheologice axate pe exploatarea izvoarelor de apă sărată din Moldova subcarpatică (2003-2010) au condus la o nouă clasificare a locuirilor umane în funcție de aceste surse de aprovizionare cu un mineral indispensabil pentru viața comunităților preistorice, inclusiv din „Bronzul tracic" şi „La Tène-ul geto-dacic".

Presque deux décennies ont passé depuis la publication de la première étude ethnoarchéologique roumaine[1]. Depuis, les recherches centrées sur l'archéologie des sources salées de la Moldavie précarpatique (y compris avec des indices d'exploitation appartenant au «Bronze Thrace» ou à «La Tène géto-dace») ont connu une relative constance[2], tandis que les recherches ethnoarchéologiques ont été véritablement reprises à partir de 2003 dans le cadre d'un projet franco-roumain de longue haleine conduit par l'un d'entre nous (O.W.). Depuis fin 2007, ces recherches ont connu une nouvelle impulsion dans le cadre d'un projet roumain[3], dont l'équipe restreinte (dr. M. Alexianu – directeur, dr. O. Weller – expert spécialiste, dr. V. Cotiugă, dr. R.-G. Curcă et dr. I. Moga – membres, dr. R. Brigand – collaborateur) a réussi à collecter une quantité impressionnante de données ethnographiques dans les départements de la Moldavie précarpatique (143 enquêtes effectuées entre 2004 et septembre 2010) (Fig. 1). Ces dernières, de par leur caractère systématique et une grande variété de contexte, ont permis de soulever de nouvelles problématiques[4] ou ont conduit à reconsidérer des résultats plus anciens.

Dans cette dernière catégorie s'inscrit la problématique de la distribution des habitats en regard des sources salées[5]. En effet, l'accumulation des données ethnographiques nous a conduit à réévaluer nos approches antérieures qui ne prenaient pas en considération la distinction fondamentale entre l'exploitation du sel en dispersion liquide et la production de sel cristallisé obtenu depuis ces mêmes saumures naturelles.

A partir de nos recherches ethnographiques, trois principales modalités d'exploitation sous forme liquide des sources salées peuvent être distinguées:

1. Prélèvement, transport et utilisation de l'eau salée;

2. Prélèvement, transport et chauffe de l'eau salée pour l'obtention du sel cristallisé;

3. Prélèvement, transport et utilisation du sel naturellement cristallisé autour de la source salée.

EXPLOITATION DES SAUMURES NATURELLES

Les recherches effectuées jusqu'à présent indiquent l'existence de trois types d'approvisionnement aux sources salées selon les distances parcourues et le nombre de villages utilisateurs (Fig. 2). Ces trois catégories d'aires de circulation d'eau salée sont établies en fonction de l'extension spatiale des localités utilisatrices des saumures naturelles, mais dépendent aussi des caractéristiques enregistrées[6] pour chaque émergence salée (type de puits, débit, profondeur, salinité, composition chimique, accessibilité) comme nous avons pu le démontrer à travers plusieurs séries d'analyses statistiques[7]. Ces trois types d'aire d'approvisionnement ont été définis dans les termes suivants:

1. *Aire villageoise*, dans le cas des sources d'importance strictement locale, utilisées par un à trois villages situés à une distance ne dépassant pas 5 km.

[1] Alexianu *et al.* 1992.

[2] Dumitroaia 1994; Ursulescu 1995; Chapman *et al.* 2002; Chapman *et al.* 2003-2004; Monah 2002; Monah *et al.* 2003; Andronic 1989, Andronic, Ursu 2003; Chapman, Monah 2007; Danu *et al*. 2010; Munteanu, Dumitroaia 2005 Munteanu 2006; Munteanu *et al.* 2007; Nicola *et al.* 2007; Weller, Dumitroaia 2005; Weller *et al*. 2007a; Weller *et al*. 2007b; Weller *et al*. 2007c; Weller *et al*. 2010a; Weller *et al*. 2010 b; Weller *et al*. 2011; Dumitroaia *et al.* 2008; Diaconu, Garvăn 2010.

[3] Alexianu, Weller 2009.

[4] Alexianu, Weller 2007; Alexianu *et al.* 2007a; Alexianu *et al.* 2007b; Alexianu *et al.* 2008.

[5] Alexianu 2007; Alexianu *et al.* 2007b.

[6] Weller *et al*. 2007b et Weller *et al*. 2010a.

[7] Weller *et al*. 2011.

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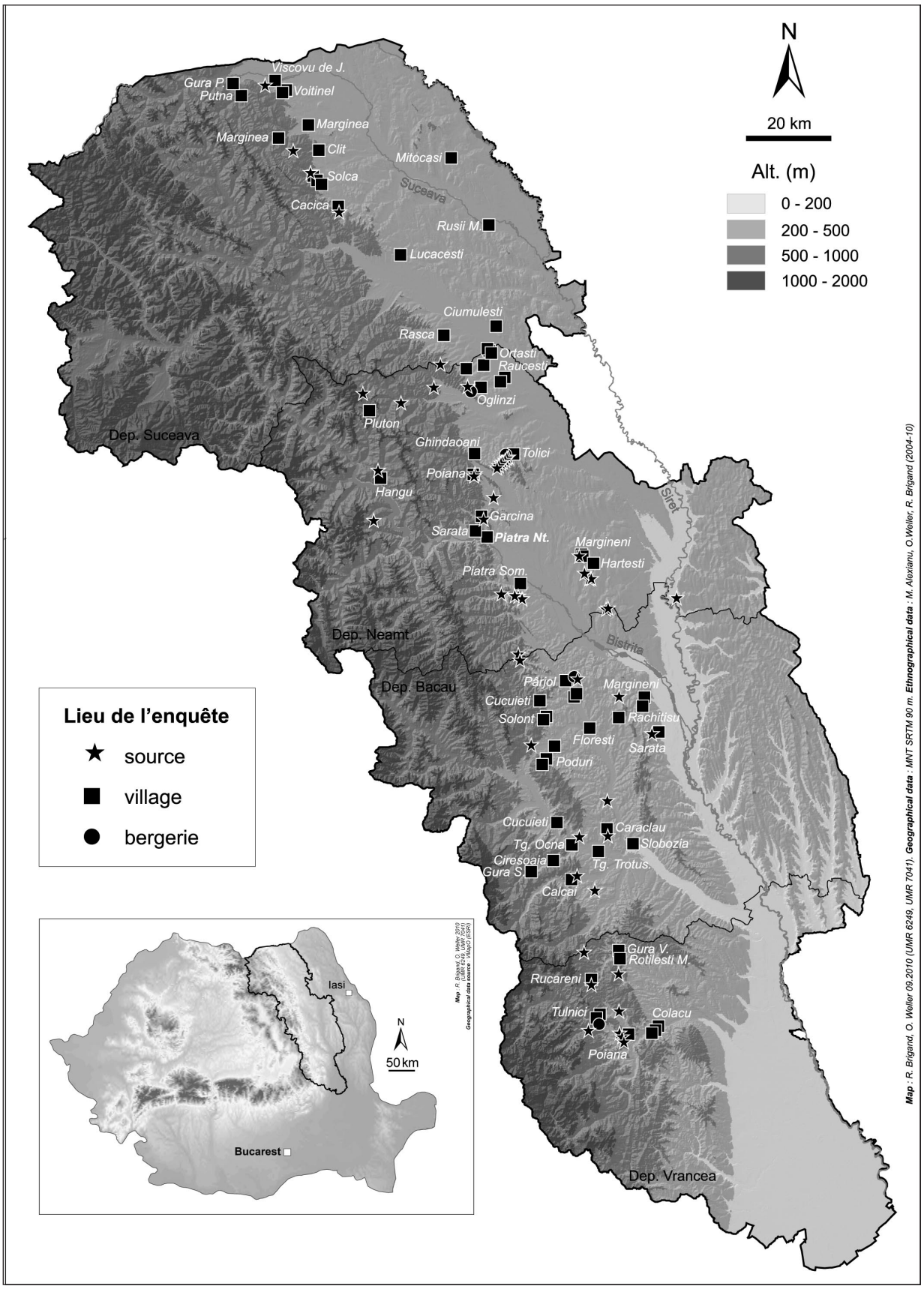

Fig. 1. Zone d'étude et lieux d'enquêtes ethnographiques (2004-2010).

2. *Aire communale*, dans le cas des sources utilisées par plus de quatre villages situés à des distances pouvant atteindre 20 km.

3. *Aire supracommunale*, dans le cas des sources utilisées par de nombreuses localités (rurales, mais aussi urbaines) dont l'attraction s'exerce sur de grandes distances, bien supérieures à 20 km.

Les réelles dimensions de l'approvisionnement en eau salée dans l'espace précarpatique de la Moldavie se révèlent dans les moments de restriction (guerre, crise temporaire d'approvisionnement en temps de paix), quand le système d'approvisionnement en sel

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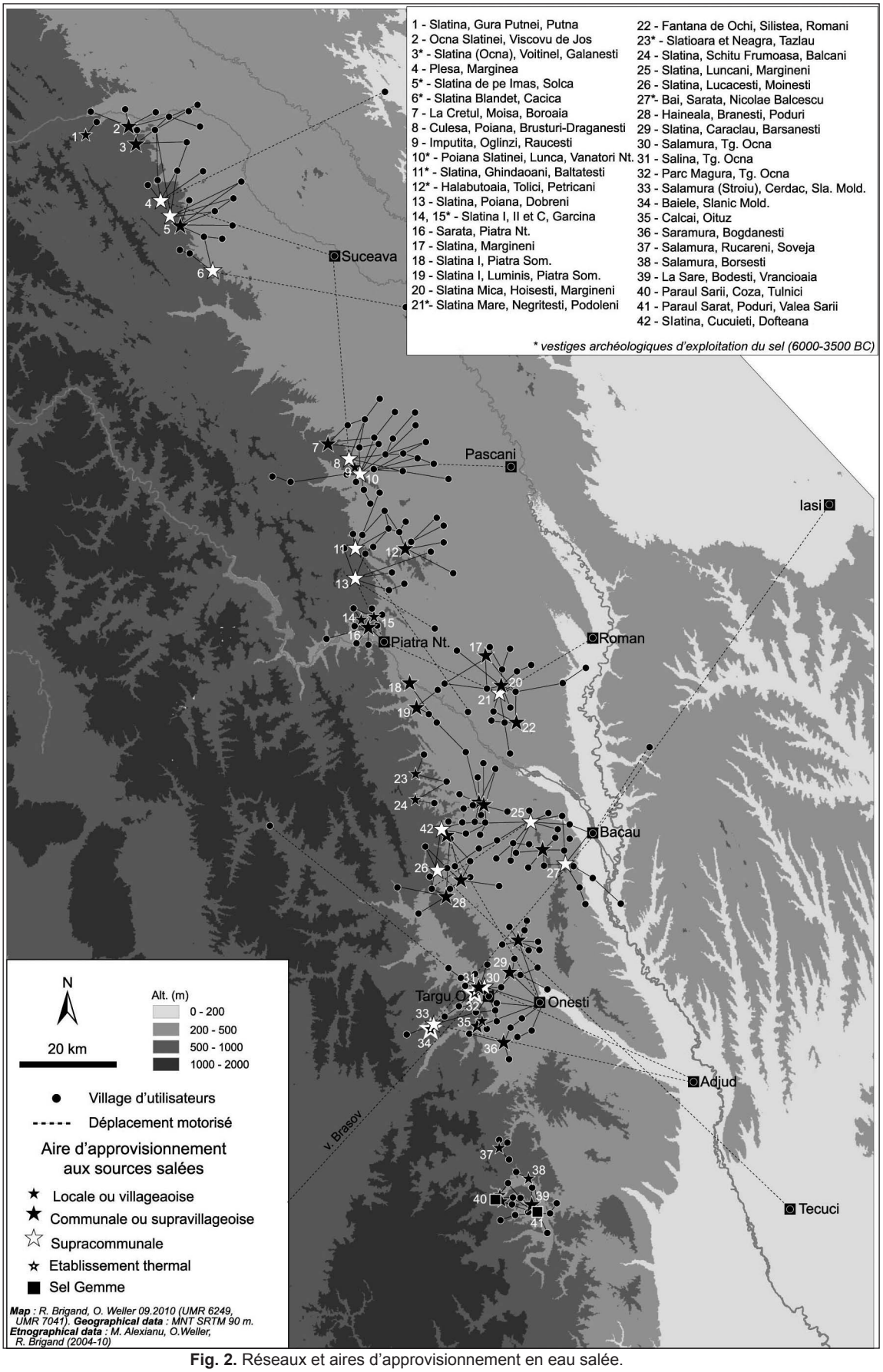
1 - Slatina, Gura Putnei, Putna
2 - Ocna Slatinei, Viscovu de Jos
3* - Slatina (Ocna), Voitinel, Galanesti
4 - Plesa, Marginea
5* - Slatina de pe Imas, Solca
6* - Slatina Blandet, Cacica
7 - La Cretul, Moisa, Boroaia
8 - Culesa, Poiana, Brusturi-Draganesti
9 - Imputita, Oglinzi, Raucesti
10* - Poiana Slatinei, Lunca, Vanatori Nt.
11* - Slatina, Ghindaoani, Baltatesti
12* - Halabutoaia, Tolici, Petricani
13 - Slatina, Poiana, Dobreni
14, 15* - Slatina I, II et C, Garcina
16 - Sarata, Piatra Nt.
17 - Slatina, Margineni
18 - Slatina I, Piatra Som.
19 - Slatina I, Luminis, Piatra Som.
20 - Slatina Mica, Hoisesti, Margineni
21*- Slatina Mare, Negritesti, Podoleni
22 - Fantana de Ochi, Silistea, Romani
23* - Slatioara et Neagra, Tazlau
24 - Slatina, Schitu Frumoasa, Balcani
25 - Slatina, Luncani, Margineni
26 - Slatina, Lucacesti, Moinesti
27*- Bai, Sarata, Nicolae Balcescu
28 - Haineala, Branesti, Poduri
29 - Slatina, Caraclau, Barsanesti
30 - Salamura, Tg. Ocna
31 - Salina, Tg. Ocna
32 - Parc Magura, Tg. Ocna
33 - Salamura (Stroiu), Cerdac, Sla. Mold.
34 - Baiele, Slanic Mold.
35 - Calcai, Oituz
36 - Saramura, Bogdanesti
37 - Salamura, Rucareni, Soveja
38 - Salamura, Borsesti
39 - La Sare, Bodesti, Vrancioaia
40 - Paraul Sarii, Coza, Tulnici
41 - Paraul Sarat, Poduri, Valea Sarii
42 - Slatina, Cucuieti, Dofteana
* vestiges archéologiques d'exploitation du sel (6000-3500 BC)
Suceava
Pascani
Iasi
Roman
Piatra Nt.
Bacau
Onesti
Targu O.
Adjud
Tecuci
v. Brasov
N
20 km
Alt. (m)
0 - 200
200 - 500
500 - 1000
1000 - 2000
Village d'utilisateurs
Déplacement motorisé
Aire d'approvisionnement aux sources salées
Locale ou villageaoise
Communale ou supravillageoise
Supracommunale
Etablissement thermal
Sel Gemme
Map : R. Brigand, O. Weller 09.2010 (UMR 6249, UMR 7041). Geographical data : MNT SRTM 90 m.
Etnographical data : M. Alexianu, O.Weller, R. Brigand (2004-10)

Fig. 2. Réseaux et aires d'approvisionnement en eau salée.

gemme n'est plus opératoire. Dans ces situations, les enquêtes ethnographiques ont indiqué des transports d'eau salée sur des distances allant jusqu'à 100 km.

L'APPROVISIONNEMENT EN EAU SALÉE

Plusieurs situations ont été mises en évidence quant aux rapports entretenus entre l'homme, les communautés humaines et les sources salées :

1. **Point d'approvisionnement en eau salée** qui

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correspond aux alentours immédiats de la source salée; l'approvisionnement est de courte durée et dépend de la capacité totale des récipients utilisés pour le transport, du débit de la source salée, du volume total du puits et du nombre de personnes qui participent au puisage de l'eau salée et au versement dans les récipients de transport. Il s'agit d'une activité humaine qui ne génère que très peu de traces à l'exception de tessons céramiques, ou, aujourd'hui, de bouteilles plastiques, provenant des contenants accidentellement brisés. Dans cette catégorie, on peut inclure toutes les sources salées auprès desquelles ont été trouvés quelques fragments céramiques sporadiques d'une ou de plusieurs périodes. Cette zone n'est pas véritablement habitée; elle est seulement fréquentée occasionnellement par l'homme.

2. Habitats qui s'approvisionnent directement à une source salée.

2.a. Habitats saisonniers de type bergerie (Fig. 3). L'eau salée est quelquefois utilisée pour la préparation du fromage (roum. *caş*) et seulement pour l'alimentation des bergers; les morceaux de *caş* rapidement trempés dans l'eau salée avant d'être consommés présentent en effet une saveur particulière. La zone est souvent parcourue par les troupeaux. L'identification des habitats saisonniers de ce type à l'occasion de recherches archéologiques constitue sans doute une tache très ardue, mais les archéologues doivent être avertis sur la possibilité de leur existence. Certaines concentrations de fragments céramiques identiques à ceux découverts près des sources salées, situées à des distances d'environ 1 km d'une source, pourraient justement indiquer ce type d'habitat saisonnier dédié à l'élevage des ovicapridés ou des bovinés. Par ailleurs, il est aussi possible de démontrer la fréquentation des troupeaux aux abords des sources salées, comme très souvent aujourd'hui (Fig. 4), par le biais d'analyses paléo-environnementales. Par exemple, à la source salée de *Hălăbutoaia* à Ţolici (Neamţ) les microfossiles non polliniques (spores de champignons coprophiles) ont montré l'existence d'activités pastorales synchrones d'une exploitation du sel datée du Néolithique[8]; ou encore, dans le cas de la source salée de *Poiana Slatinei* à Lunca (Neamţ), où le choix des combustibles utilisés pour l'exploitation du sel au Néolithique ancien semblerait bien être complémentaire d'une alimentation fourragère animale[9].

2.b. Habitats proprement dits. Les enquêtes ethnographiques ont souligné que tous les villages proches d'une source utilisent l'eau salée telle que. Nous avons pu mettre en évidence deux situations distinctes: soit il n'y a qu'une seule source pour une zone donnée; soit, dans le cas où plusieurs sources coexistent dans une même zone, il en existe une seule de qualité supérieure quant à sa salinité, son débit important et son accès aisé. Actuellement, l'approvisionnement en eau salée se fait par des habitants situés à des distances de 10 à 15 km de la source, mais certains peuvent parcourir jusqu'à 25-30 km (Fig. 5).

Lorsque plusieurs sources salées, situées à une distance de 5-6 km l'une de l'autre, présentent des salinités, des compositions minérales, des débits ou des facilités d'accès similaires, chacune d'entre elles est utilisée par des groupes de 2-3 villages situés à une distance de 2-3 km[10]. Dans cette situation, la distance d'approvisionnement par rapport à chaque source diminue mais l'aire d'approvisionnement présente des paramètres comparables avec la situation précédente.

Fig. 3. Bergerie et préparation du fromage (Hălăbutoaia, Ţolici, Petricani, Neamţ; Mătăhuia, Căşăria, Dobreni, Neamţ). Photos OW.

3. Habitats approvisionnés indirectement en eau salée.

Ils sont situés entre 40-50 km et environ 100 km de distance par rapport à une source salée. La

[8] Danu *et al*. 2010.

[9] Weller *et al*. 2010b; Dufraisse *et al*. 2010.

[10] Monah *et al*. 2003, 69-73.

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direction de la distribution va des utilisateurs directs vers les localités utilisatrices plus distantes. Conformément aux enquêtes effectuées jusqu'à présent, le transport de l'eau salée jusqu'à ces localités lointaines est rarement attesté. Il est seulement signalé lors de situations exceptionnelles (à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et durant les années suivantes). Dans ce dernier cas, l'eau salée accompagnait généralement le transport du sel cristallisé obtenu d'une source salée.

En conclusion, l'utilisation de l'eau des sources salées nécessite surtout l'acte d'approvisionnement et génère seulement un réseau de distribution et, plus rarement, de re-distribution. Actuellement, l'approvisionnement en eau salée se pratique sur de larges échelles et ne constitue pas toujours un indicateur de pauvreté. En effet, elle est utilisée par des catégories socio-économiques très différentes, surtout en raison de la qualité de la saumure naturelle pour la conservation des légumes et des fromages. Dans le cas de la conservation du fromage, certaines petites entreprises de production d'un fromage nommé *telemea* utilisent intensivement l'eau provenant de certaines sources salées.

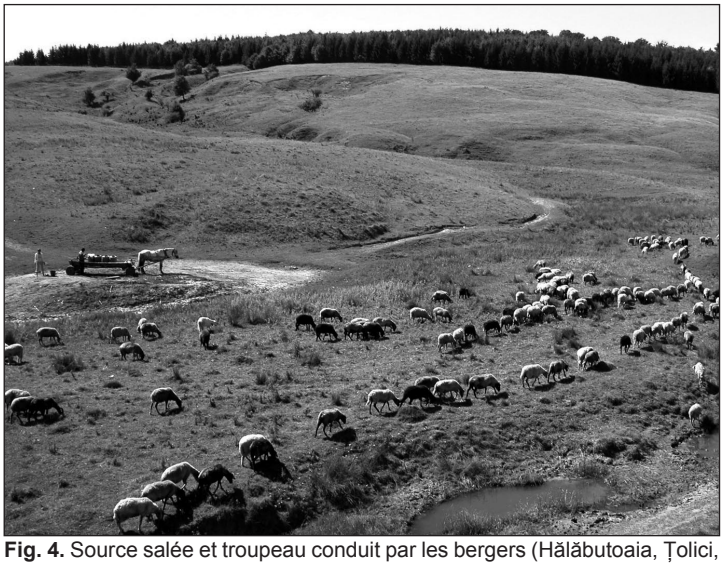

Fig. 4. Source salée et troupeau conduit par les bergers (Hălăbutoaia, Țolici, Petricani, Neamț). Photo OW.

Fig. 5. Approvisionnement en eau salée et transport à l'aide de charrettes (Poiana Slatinei, Lunca, Vânători, Neamț; Hălăbutoaia, Țolici, Petricani, Neamț). Photos OW.

PRODUCTION DU SEL IGNIGÈNE

La pratique de la cristallisation du sel après ébullition de la saumure naturelle a cessé entre 1995 et 1996. De nombreux témoignages, provenant surtout de personnes âgées, ont néanmoins permis de déceler trois stratégies et lieux principaux d'exploitation:

1. Production du sel cristallisé (roum. *husca*) à proximité de la source salée;
2. Production de *husca* dans des habitats saisonniers de type bergerie;
3. Production de *husca* dans des villages.

APPROVISIONNEMENT EN SEL IGNIGÈNE

En ce qui concerne l'exploitation du sel cristallisé ou *husca*, on peut discerner trois phases: *l'approvisionnement en eau salée; la production et la (re)distribution de sel cristallisé*. Les rapports entre les communautés humaines et la source salée deviennent plus diversifiés et plus complexes. Nous distinguons les situations suivantes:

1. Source salée - point d'approvisionnement en eau salée. La saumure naturelle est transportée sur des distances très courtes ou plus longues. Les enquêtes ethnographiques ont montré que l'eau puisée était bouillie soit à proximité immédiate de la source salée, soit à une petite distance (30-50 m), soit dans les habitats saisonniers de type bergerie, soit encore dans les villages utilisateurs situés à 5-7 km de la source salée.

2. Zone de production de sel cristallisé par ébullition

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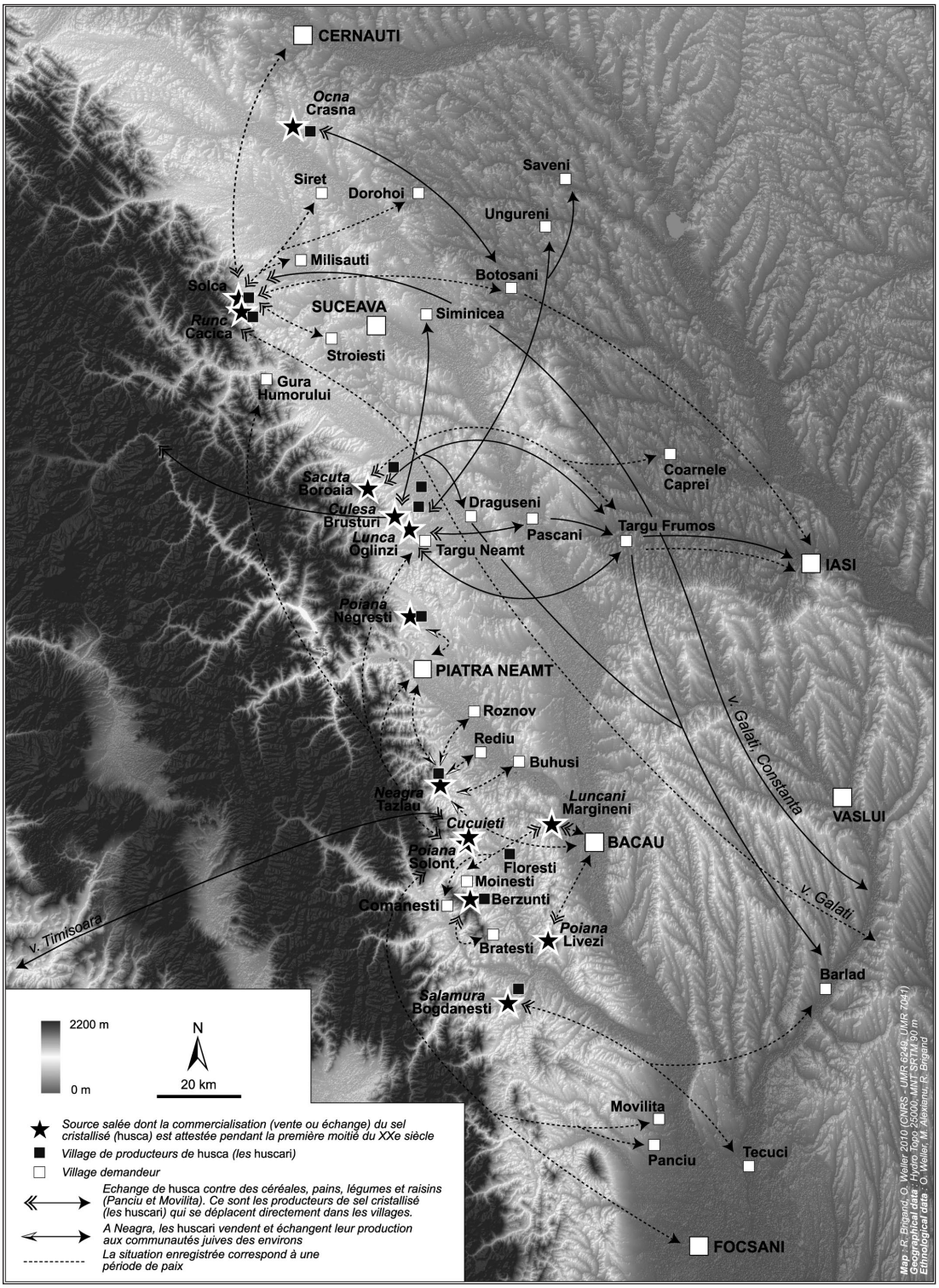

Fig. 6. Production et réseaux d'échanges et de troc du sel cristallisé durant le XX^{e} siècle.

de l'eau salée, située à proximité d'une source salée et à caractère saisonnier. Le fait qu'une majorité des informations obtenues concernent ce type de production est significatif.

La durée du séjour d'une personne ou de plusieurs personnes productrices de husca près d'une source salée varie en fonction de différents facteurs: distance, accessibilité, saison, etc. Néanmoins, c'est d'abord la quantité de sel cristallisé désirée qui dicte souvent la durée du séjour. La durée la plus fréquemment rencontrée était d'un jour plein, calé sur le soleil, comme à Oglinzi, Boboieşti, Rucăreni-Soveja, Slătioara-Groşi. Quelquefois, les paysans restaient sur place deux à trois jours, le but étant que chacun des 3-4 exploitants associés obtiennent environ 100 kg de husca, sachant que pour la cristallisation complète de la saumure d'un chaudron, 6 à 7 heures étaient nécessaires. C'est par exemple le cas des exploitants d' Orţăşti, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale ou ceux de Râşca (dép. Suceava). En ce qui concerne la source salée de Stroiu (dép. Bacău), on a même documenté la pratique d'obtention de *husca* par toute une famille qui restait 2 à 3 semaines dans un habitat saisonnier *ad hoc*.

En ce qui concerne le nombre de personnes impliquées dans la production de *husca* près d'une

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source, tout dépend de la situation de la localité utilisatrice. Si la localité est relativement proche de la source, les groupes sont composés de 2 à 3 exploitants (comme à Rucăreni-Soveja, dép. Vrancea). Si la localité est plus lointaine, on constate que les groupes de producteurs de *husca* étaient plus importants comme à la source salée de Râşca. Ces variations sont liées à des préoccupations de rentabilité et de contexte économique: par exemple, à la source salée de Neagra (dép. Neamț), l'existence de plusieurs microgroupes qui produisaient *husca* indique une microproduction constante réalisée dans la période d'entre les deux guerres dans le village de Tazlău, voisin de la source, destinée à la commercialisation dans certains villages et villes des départements du Neamț et de Bacău.

Fig. 7. Puits de la source salée de Poiana (Negreşti, Neamț) et restes de production de *husca* tout proche. Photos OW.

Dans le cas de certaines de ces sources, les enquêtes ont relevé que la production de *husca* se faisait aussi bien près de la source que dans les villages utilisateurs. Les producteurs de *husca* sont conscients des avantages et des inconvénients de chaque lieu de production. Dans le cas de la production de *husca* près d'une source située à une distance importante du village, les avantages consistent dans l'existence sur place de combustible et dans le transport d'une quantité plus importante de sel cristallisé. Les inconvénients, dans le cas d'un séjour plus long, résident dans les difficultés d'approvisionnement en denrées alimentaires et dans la contraction de maladies liées au confort sommaire des habitats saisonniers. Quand la production de *husca* est réalisée dans les villages, l'avantage réside dans le confort spécifique des habitats stables mais les désavantages sont liés à l'acheminement de grandes quantités d'eau salée et aux efforts supplémentaires nécessaires pour le transport du combustible.

Généralement, le sel est intégralement destiné au troc ou à la vente dans des localités situées:

a. à 20-30 km de distance ou

b. à 70-200 km de distance.

3. Zone de production de sel cristallisé près d'un habitat saisonnier de type bergerie. Le sel est intégralement utilisé pour la satisfaction des besoins locaux, principalement pour les moutons.

4. Zone de production de sel cristallisé dans un habitat proprement dit. Dans ce cas :

a. le sel est destiné exclusivement à la satisfaction des besoins domestiques;

b. le sel est destiné partiellement à la satisfaction des besoins domestiques;

c. le sel est destiné partiellement au troc ou à la vente dans des localités généralement situées jusqu'à 20-30 km ou dans des localités situées jusqu'à 70-200 km (Fig. 6).

On peut conclure que, en général, les territoires de distribution de sel cristallisé sont considérablement plus grands que ceux de l'eau salée atteignant d'habitude jusqu'à 80-100 km. Les enquêtes effectuées en 2009 ont enregistré des distances encore plus importantes jusqu'à 300 km (e.g. Suceava-Galați).

En ce qui concerne la distribution de *husca* dans le but d'être échangé ou vendu, on a constaté deux situations qui varient selon le caractère permanent ou sporadique de la production de sel (Fig. 6).

Dans des conditions normales, quand la production de *husca* est continue, sa diffusion est relativement régulière sur des distances de 15 à 40 km. Par exemple, les habitants de Poiana-Negreşti (dép. Neamț) qui produisaient régulièrement *husca* dans leur village (Fig. 7), allaient échanger les petits blocs de *husca* (roum. *boțuri de huscă*) aux marchands juifs de la Strada Mare (Rue Principale) de Piatra Neamț. En échange de ces mottes de *husca*, ils recevaient du pain, des olives, de l'huile, du poisson, des caroubes et des *opinci* (sandales portées par les paysans roumains). Mais *husca* était aussi vendue directement sur le marché de Piatra Neamț. Les producteurs de *husca* de Poiana-Negreşti troquaient aussi la *husca* contre des céréales à la commande des habitants des villages voisins. Généralement, les producteurs de *husca* effectuaient eux-mêmes le transport et les transactions. Les producteurs spécialisés étaient aussi des transporteurs et des commerçants, ce qui leur permettait d'augmenter leurs profits. Dans un autre cas, *husca*, cette fois sous forme de poudre obtenue à partir des eaux salées de Neagra et de Slătioara (Tazlău), était souvent vendue contre de l'argent, mais on faisait aussi du troc contre de l'huile avec les marchands juifs des villes de Piatra Neamț, Buhuşi et Bacău et des villages de Roznov et Rediu qui, à leur tour, la commercialisaient (Fig. 6).

Dans des conditions exceptionnelles, comme par exemple la désorganisation de l'approvisionnement en sel gemme à la fin de Seconde Guerre mondiale ou durant les périodes de sécheresse de 1945-1946, on assiste à une intensification de la production de sel cristallisé et à une extension considérable de l'aire de distribution, jusqu'à 100 et même 300 km. Par exemple, le sel produit à Slatina-Culeşa, village de Poiana (dép. Neamț), était transporté sur des distances de 70 à 100 km vers Iaşi ou Botoşani, dans des charrettes tirées par des chevaux ou des bœufs (lorsque les chevaux avaient été réquisitionnés pour le

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front). Heureusement, on a pu obtenir des informations concernant les aspects quantitatifs du troc. Ainsi, 1 kg de *husca* était troqué contre 2-3 kg de blé ou contre 4-5 kg de maïs. Mais le circuit ne s'arrêtait pas toujours là car, quelquefois, une partie des quantités de blé ainsi obtenues étaient vendues dans les zones montagneuses de la haute vallée de la Bistrița, là où la culture des céréales était impossible (Fig. 6). Ainsi, en exploitant une ressource naturelle d'accès ouvert et gratuit, les villageois satisfaisaient, via le troc, à la fois leurs besoins en blé et en maïs, mais gagnaient aussi une certaine somme d'argent nécessaire à d'autres besoins. Par ailleurs, avec ce système triangulaire, le sel permettait indirectement aux habitants des zones montagneuses de s'approvisionner en céréales. Il convient également de souligner que les charrettes qui transportaient husca étaient aussi utilisées pour véhiculer la saumure dans des tonneaux d'une capacité totale d'environ 1000 l. Les enquêtes ont montré l'existence de ce même type de modèle dans plusieurs zones de l'espace précarpatique de Moldavie. Le troc de *husca* a cessé en 1946, pendant la grande famine de cette année, car d'une part, il n'y avait plus de céréales pouvant être troqués et d'autre part, l'importation de l'URSS de sel gemme de couleur rougeâtre sous forme de blocs de 5 kg avait commencé. Notons enfin qu'ont même existé des transports par train de petites quantités de *husca* (environ 20 kg) sur de très grandes distances durant les périodes de sécheresse, en vue de satisfaire par le troc les besoins d'une famille en blé et en maïs. Ainsi, nous avons enregistré des transports de sel vers des zones céréalières ou portuaires lointaines comme de Cucuieți-Solonț (via la gare de Moineşti, dép. Bacău) jusqu'en Banat (S-O de la Roumanie), ou de Solca (dép. Suceava) jusqu'à Constanța (littoral ouest de la mer Noire).

Fig. 8. Cristallisations naturelles de sel. Récolte et attraction animale (*Salamura*, Călcâi, Oituz, Bacău; *Zlatina*, Poiana, Vrâncioaia, Vrancea; *Hăinească*, Poduri, Bacău). Photos OW.

UTILISATION DU SEL NATURELLEMENT CRISTALLISÉ

Dans notre dernière campagne d'enquêtes ethnographiques (été 2010), une nouvelle modalité d'exploitation inattendue a été mise en évidence. Il s'agit de la récolte du sel naturellement cristallisé, en été, près des sources salées et l'utilisation comme tel dans l'alimentation humaine et animale, la conservation alimentaire, etc. (Fig. 8). Même si au siècle dernier cette forme d'exploitation est d'une importance fortement réduite et locale par rapport à l'utilisation de saumure naturelle ou de husca, cette forme d'exploitation est particulièrement suggestive pour la compréhension des situations préhistoriques. Notre hypothèse est que l'homme préhistorique a d'abord exploité l'eau des sources salées, puis le sel naturellement cristallisé à proximité (entre autres comme lieu de chasse privilégié et pour ses troupeaux). Ce sel naturel a offert un modèle d'obtention du sel cristallisé dans des quantités plus importantes par évaporation naturelle (fosses, bassins, grands récipients ouverts) ou artificielle (chauffe de la saumure directement sur un foyer ou dans des récipients). Autrement dit, le processus d'obtention du sel ignigène a été précédé et inspiré par le processus d'évaporation naturelle sans intervention humaine.

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En généralisant, la base de données concernant le troc husca-céréales indique que la production de sel cristallisé dans les départements de Suceava, Neamț, Bacău et Vrancea satisfaisait les besoins en sel des autres départements de Moldavie, respectivement Botoşani, Iaşi, Vaslui et Galați. Le modèle d'approvisionnement avec *husca* sur de si grandes distances présente d'importantes implications interprétatives pour les époques préhistoriques, appuyant – même partiellement – l'hypothèse qu'une partie considérable de la production de sel cristallisé était destinée aux trocs à grandes distances[11], surtout si ce sel était mis en forme de blocs durs, compacts et facilement transportables ainsi que le suggère l'apparition des briquetages au Cucuteni[12].

L'unité de lieu entre traces archéologiques, témoignages historiques et pratiques récentes du

[11] Monah 1991.

[12] Weller 2002.

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siècle dernier constitue un argument difficile à rejeter dans l'utilisation des analogies ethnographiques en vue d'une meilleure compréhension des situations passées. Dans ce sens, nous tenons à souligner le caractère rémanent des comportements d'approvisionnement en eau des sources salées. Ainsi, il est significatif qu'un rapport autrichien, daté d'il y a plus de deux siècles[13], indique qu'en dépit des transformations politiques, économiques et sociales de la Roumanie (y compris l'adhésion récente à l'Union Européenne en 2007), les activités quotidiennes de satisfaction des besoins en sel n'ont pas changé d'une manière radicale et constituent de véritables patterns comportementaux et économiques. Les recherches ethnoarchéologiques effectuées ces dernières années dans l'espace précarpatique de la Moldavie ont fourni un référentiel solide et des clefs d'approche uniques pour la compréhension de l'histoire de l'exploitation traditionnelle des sources salées, actuellement presque totalement disparues en Europe. A partir d'une recherche systématique de type idiographique, nous avons pu dégager des modèles d'exploitation des sources salées dont l'universalité devra être testée sur d'autres zones où l'on rencontre des traces archéologiques de production de sel, mais où l'exploitation traditionnelle a cessé depuis longtemps.

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[13] Peithner 1784.

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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THE EARLY BRONZE AGE ON THE LOWER OLT[1]

CRISTINEL FÂNTÂNEANU

Keywords: the Lower Olt basin, the Early Bronze Age, cultural manifestations, Zimnicea, Glina, Gornea-Orleşti, habitation, archaeological material, periodization, chronology, cultural relations.
Cuvinte-cheie: bazinul Oltului inferior, epoca timpurie a Bronzului, manifestări culturale, Zimnicea, Gornea-Orleşti, locuire, material arheologic, periodizare, cronologie, relații culturale.

I. Geographic space and its natural resources

The Olt basin is the fourth amongst the largest basins of our country. It encompasses a wide network of rivers and measures a surface of approximately 24,300 kmp. The hydrographic Basin of the Lower Olt can be considered the one situated south of the Meridional Carpathians beginning with the Cozia gorge, where it comes out, up to its flow into the Danube, upstream from Turnu Măgurele.

The relief is represented by forms of 2nd and 3rd order. Those of 2nd order (mountains, hills, highlands, fields) are being arranged in steps on the north-south direction, beginning with altitudes over 2,000 m and reaching up to lower field altitudes, under 100 m, but also meadows. Over the relief forms of 2nd order, there is overlapped the micro relief (3rd order), with valleys, terraces, dunes etc. The higher steps, of the Parâng, Căpățânii, and Cozia Mountains that belong to the Meridional Carpathians represent the origin of the largest tributaries of the Lower Olt River.

It is discussed more often about *"a certain aridisation of the climate at the end of the Eneolithic and in the Bronze Age. This amplified the steppic conditions in the Lower Danube field, imposing a mobility of the shepherds*". According to some authors, between 3700 and 2500 BC it could be considered that the postglacial optimum ended and the aridisation began, which subsequently would lead, especially during the Bronze Age, to a warmer and dry climate, passing from silvo-steppe to steppe vegetation. This is why we are inclined to consider that, among the basic occupations of the Early Bronze Age communities, including the range we are focused upon, the cattle breeding played a significant role.

II. The cultural and chronological space of the EBA in the Lower Olt basin

Towards the end of the Eneolithic time, within the space of the Lower Olt basin, especially the Sălcuța Culture became manifested. Such settlements, belonging to the mentioned cultural manifestation we could encounter both in the north range, but also in its south. In the north, Sălcuța habitations could be identified in Valea Sâlei (Orleşti comm.), Coasta Ungurenilor (Ocnele Mari), Rm. Vâlcea-*Cetățuia*, Căzăneşti-*Fabrică*, Dobriceni, Obogeni (Stoileşti comm.), Gruiul Lupului (Racovița comm.), Govora Sat-*Treime*, while in south the most representative settlement of the Sălcuța Culture we consider to be the one from Drăgăneşti Olt-*Corboaica*.

When taking into account the transitional period, in the space that we focuse on and the one closely neighboring to the east, or the east-central European one, would have been manifested the central peninsular circle, and they included, according to Petre Roman, would have also the groups and cultural groups of Orlea-Sadovec, Celei, Coțofeni, Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol. Especially in its south, this is a buffer zone where, following some ethnic flows and mixtures, as well as some cultural influences, together with Central Muntenia, the first communities of the EBA from Romania would have emerged. We refer here to the necropolis from Zimnicea (even if it is not located in the space that we are focusing on but in its close eastern vicinity, we would render it here for a better understanding of the EBA phenomen on a larger range), as part of a more extended complex – which is Zimnicea-Mlăjet-Sânzieni-Turia – reaching up to the south-eastern areas of Transylvania. In the northern part of the range that we will study here, we would find Coțofeni settlements at Ocnele Mari-*Zdup*, Ocnele Mari-*Ştrand*, Rm. Vâlcea-*Cetățuie*, Bârseşti-*Chiciurila*, Căzăneşti-*Fabrica de Cărămidă*, Căzăneşti-*Săveasca*, Modoia-*Vârful Cuculici*, the tumular necropolis at Milostea etc. In turn, in the southern part of the region that we refer to, we could find discoveries belonging to the Cernavodă III (i.e. – Drăgăneşti Olt-*Corboaica*).

As was already demonstrated by Petre Roman, the first manifestations of the EBA in the proximal space of the Lower Olt basin are represented by the

[1] This is the summary of the author's doctoral thesis, defended in 2005 at the *"Ovidius"* University of Constanța, Faculty of History, Department of Ancient and Medieval History, under the scientific coordination of Prof. Dr. Petre I. Roman.

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necropolis from Zimnicea. This is situated on the same chronological level with the Coțofeni IIa (pre-Glina), based upon the following synchronism: Coțofeni I – pre-Glina – Troy II. The *askoi* vessels in the Zimnicea necropolis and the one from Batin (its correspondent south of the Danube) have close analogies in the settlement from Junatsite.

The Glina Culture has is formation center somewhere in the region of Bucharest and its surroundings, an area where the oldest vestiges have been found. In its classical phases, this cultural manifestation would initiate a migration to the west, at the same time maintaining its eastern line with a remarkable defensive balance that was owed, most probably, to the constant pressure of the different groups belonging to the tumular ochre burials (i.e. tumular burials from Gurbăneşti).

As we have already mentioned above, the Glina Culture, in its classical phases, would initiate a movement to the west. Thus, reaching the space that we study now (the lower Olt basin), they would provide at least two phases (II and III) which covered the entire range that we are dealing with. In the southern half, the Glina levels have overlapped layers belonging to the 2nd phase of the Coțofeni Culture (the best example being the settlement from Braneț) and they formed their second evolution stage. In the northern part of the studied range, the Glina communities would replace the communities of the Coțofeni IIIc phase (of Govora Sat – *Runcuri* type, influenced by the decoration style of the Vučedol Culture). Thus, we are dealing with a new, distinct phase, the 3rd one, of the Glina Culture, that would cover, if not completely, at least in part its distribution area. These are the two phases of the Glina Culture, that would surely manifest themselves within the space of the Lower Olt basin, being still unknown if we are also dealing with a 4th phase – Ostrovul Corbului - (final) on the territory in discussion (the vessel that is considered to be a cremation urn, in a stone cist from Govora Sat-*Runcuri*, has raised big question marks about the truthfulness of this find).

The Gornea-Orleşti Cultural Group has emerged in the last stage, the third of the EBA. This cultural horizon has originated somewhere in Central Europe, from where it subsequently migrated to the east and south-east. It could cover the Banat, as well as the largest part of Transylvania, Oltenia proper (right from the Olt River). In the lower basin of the mentioned river we also have settlements of Gornea-Orleşti type at Reşca-*Romula Villa Suburbana*, Orleşti-*Sâlea*, Govora Sat-*Treime*, Ocnele Mari-*Zdup* etc. These are characterized, firstly, by an association of the channeled pottery with the one decorated with textile ornaments and honey comb. Therefore, this 3rd period of the EBA in the Lower Olt basin would be the one that evolved since the end of the Glina Culture and would lead to the emergence of the first manifestations of the Middle Bronze Age, in our case the Verbicioara Culture.

The recent publication of some works that have tackled the problems regarding the definition and terminology of the Bronze Age and especially its early period, as well as some aspects connected to different chronological systems, have spared us of such an effort. We believe that, from the above lines, it could be clearly inferred that for the EBA of the Lower Olt basin, we would use the chronological system that was advanced by Petre Roman that we considered to be mostly appropriate for the cultural realities of the epoch in the above mentioned space.

III. Cultural horizons belonging to the EBA in the Lower Olt basin

III. 1. The necropolis from Zimnicea

About the location. The necropolis from Zimnicea was situated on a mound that raised about 1 km north on the terrace of the Danube river. Most burials were concentrated to the eastern zone of the necropolis towards the point of maximal altitude. A large number of interments have been destroyed, because cemeteries of subsequent periods have been discovered on the same spot, to which modern tillage works have been added.

*Description of the funerary complexes***.** The number of skeletons have reached 44, 6 of them coming from double burials. To all these, 10 are being added, which have preserved just few remains. Most of the skeletons have been laid in a flexed position, with a distinct arrangement of the arms and legs. There are also few skeletons buried on their “chest”, in just a single case with the sight to the ground.

Out of the total number of skeletons, 36 have their general orientation with the head to the south, having slight deviations to south-east, or south-west. As regards the deceased setting on one side, or another, 33 have been placed on their right side. Out of these, one has come from a double burial (M 33-34). Two other skeletons have been placed on their left side, one of them coming from the above mentioned burial. Another skeleton has been set on its back side, with its legs fallen to the left and its head to the right. Another group, of seven skeletons has been orientated to the west, with slight deviations to south-west. As mentioned above, one of the double burials has contained a skeleton on its right side and the other on the left side, while another double burial has both skeletons on their left side. Also the skeletons in other two interments have been placed on the left side. In a single case, the deceased has been laid on its right side and had its head to the east.

Yet, there are few even more interesting situations: in burial no. 11, about 1 m a stone agglomeration has been found, above the skeleton while the second particular situation was the one of two stone layers that overlapped several interments. Another special case was the fact that in a group of seven burials, just one of them had a funerary inventory, represented by pottery (B 22), while other six, in a better preservation state, have exclusively contained metal items. In burial no. 5 a bone pin was found. Five of the interments have contained red

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ochre, either as lumps, or as dust.

In most of the cases, each burial has contained just a single vessel, placed either near the head of the deceased (B 2, 4, 30, 31, 33-34, 36, 48, 49, 51, 54), or near its legs (B 8, 11, 16, 17, 23, 52). Just two interments have contained two vessels: burial no. 5 and no. 9.

Archaeological material. Pottery. Metal items. Generally, the paste didn't have a good quality. In many cases, this composition of the paste provided the pottery a coarse look; the slip couldn't possibly cover the roughness of the paste. The firing is rather weak, or unequal, in most of the cases.

Within the necropolis, we can distinguish as forms, several types of receptacles: the vessel (mug) of *askos* type, which prevailed among the ceramic forms, the vessel with protruding body and a more or less high neck, the vessel with globular body and a more or less high and truncated neck, the slightly averted and deep dish. The decoration consisted in small protuberances, notched, or alveolated belts, more or less fine notches, fine incisions that formed hachured triangles. The metal items have comprised adornments: lock rings, necklaces pieces, pendants, bracelets.

Cultural and chronological assignment. It is obvious that the south-danubian correspondent of the necropolis from Zimnicea is the necropolis from Batin, in Bulgaria, comprising 11 burials. Thus, as regards the position and orientation of the skeletons, their large majority has been laid on their right side and had their head with a southern orientation.

If we refer to the funerary inventory of the necropolis from Zimnicea, we could notice that the usual forms were the mugs with an oblique cut rim (*askos)*. In most of the burials (23) there is just a single vessel deposed, while in two of them two vessels have appeared. Also as we mentioned, as inventory items have been discovered adornments, respectively earrings-pandants. The *askos* type mugs, which are the predominant form in the necropolis from Zimnicea, have clearly a southern origin. In the opinion of the author who had carried out the excavations, this is a form rather closely resembling the one discovered in several copies at Junatsite. It is considered that this specific type could have evolved in the one from Zimnicea, while the items from Cârna and Kruşovița could be intermediate forms between those two types. Yet, we consider that these analogies could be made in just a general sense, because the *askoi* from Zimnicea are of a totally another kind.

For the vessels with thin neck, we also find analogies in the Coțofeni Culture, at Măceşul de Jos and Ostrovul Corbului. A fragmentary vessel similar to the burial no. 4 comes from Orlea and is being assigned to the Celei Culture. Also, a similar form could be found at Ostrovul Corbului. Still, we have to stress that the analogies are not perfect and they cannot be taken as being sure.

Concerning the decoration of the vessels from the Zimnicea necropolis, we will find correspondences in distinct spaces and milieus. Thus, similar buttons are to be found on an *askos* belonging to the Sălcuța Culture, or on a fragment of handle in the milieu of the Cernavodă III Culture. Also, such bottoms we identified on the shoulder of a Cernavodă II dish, on a vessel in Burial no. 8 of the necropolis from Brăilița or another, belonging to the Schneckenberg Culture. Lines of more of less reliefed notches appear also in the Cernavodă I and Cernavodă II culture. The last of these vessels has also a handle which is similar to the one uncovered in burial no. 26 in the necropolis from Zimnicea. Such lines of notches we also find on the pottery from Coşereni, on the vessel in the burial from Răcăciuni, or in the necropolis from Brăilița.

The discovery of a Coțofeni type vessel shows, in our opinion, at least their partial contemporaneity with this cultural manifestation. We believe that this occurred, as already pointed out by Roman, at the Coțofeni IIa level, namely a pre-Glina level. The manner of emphasizing the rim, as well as the shoulder of the vessels, by using notches – of a Cernavodă II tradition – reminds us of the Ezerovo II range.

The lock rings are of the same type like those uncovered in the tumular ochre burials from Romania and Bulgaria. The necklaces have rather good analogies with those in the tumular ochre burials in north-east Hungary. Concerning the metal pearls, they resemble in shape with the amber ones discovered in the burials from Szöreg.

Besides the archaeological material that we tackled by now, it was also discovered a fragmentary stone axe, that is similar in shape with the one from Tufa, but also with the one from Răcăciuni.

We mentioned the analogies of some vessels from the necropolis with receptacles from Măceşu de Jos, Basarabi, or Ostrovul Corbului. Still, we have to stress here that the analogies are not perfect; therefore we have to accept them with some reluctance. If they would proof to be real, we will have to lower down the chronology of the Zimnicea necropolis somewhere after the beginning of the Glina Culture, fact that in the current stage of research we consider to be a somewhat risky enterprise. We are rather inclined to believe that, especially by the *askos* type mugs, that prevailed in the necropolis from Zimnicea a strong cultural impulse should be considered (maybe even an ethnic one ?) coming from the south – that penetrated up to south-east Transylvania – of Ezero (A2 ?) type. An analogy for this process we could identify in the emergence of the Orlea – Sadovec group.

III. 2. Glina Culture. Settlements. Location

The communities of the Glina Culture have established their settlements on a rather varied relief, taking into account several factors: their proximity to a water source, their natural fortification, climate, the form of economy that they used to practice. Therefore, on the Lower Olt basin, we could find Glina settlements on the river terraces, their natural conditions being represented by the fact that some of them have been placed on the river meanders (Braneț, Govora Sat, Căzăneşti – Cărămidărie, Arsanca, Buleta etc.). Some

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other times, the foothills, as well as higher promontories have been preferred, as they provided better defense conditions by their slopes, but also a good surveilance of the surroundings (Călina, Bârseşti, Gura Văii – Căzăneşti, Govora Sat – "Runcuri" – mentioning that in time, in the latter settlement, a lot of landslides have occurred). In the northern space that we are focused on, some cave habitations have been also found (Ciunget, Peştera Haiducilor). The Eneolithic *tells* have been also considered – Drăgăneşti Olt – "Corboaica".

Settlement types. Generally, the Glina settlements did not undergo an artificial fortification, the rare exceptions (Crivăț, Odaia Turcului) confirming the rule. Just in the settlement from Orbeasca de Sus could be detected traces of a defense ditch belonging to the communities of the Glina Culture. This is due to the fact that their large majority took the benefit of their natural defending conditions. Still, there is a possibility that these settlements could have been surrounded by a fence of wickerwork, whose traces are difficult, or even impossible to be archaeologically traced.

Dimensions and duration of use. Concerning the dimensions of the Glina settlements from the Lower Olt basin, the same as in the entire range of this cultural manifestation, it is impossible to offer a precise answer. This is resulted from the fact that no Glina settlement has been completely investigated. Yet, we believe that they were small "hamlets", comprising several dwellings. Regarding their duration of use, this was usually short, sometimes even seasonal. This fact is being proved by the thickness of the cultural layer that, in the large majority of cases doesn't go over 0.30 m – Bârseşti, Căzăneşti – Cărămidărie, Căzăneşti – Platformă, Buleta. But, there were also bigger settlements, with a cultural layer having a thickness over 0.50 m – Braneț. In others, where it was a seasonal habitation, there is no cultural layer, the Glina materials being found just in a sporadically manner. This is the case of the cave habitations – Ciunget, Peştera Haiducilor.

The inner organization of the settlements. This is a rather difficult task to be solved in this stage of research, because, as we have already stated above, no Glina settlement could be exhaustively investigated by now. It seems they were arranged with no rule, without a previously established plan, but in a compact manner. It is also the case of the settlement from Braneț. Most possibly, within the settlement, two sectors must have existed: one destined to the people, the other to the animals.

Dwellings. Dwelling types. For the Glina Culture there are documented both deepened and above ground dwellings. The deepened dwellings are to be found in just a settlement of the range under study: Morăreşti. This deepened dwelling had an oval shape and had no furnishing.

We consider this lack of finds concerning deepened dwellings of the Glina Culture in the Lower Olt basin as a result of the current stage of investigation. It is our belief that the bearers of this culture had a preference for one, or another one of these constructions, in different stages of their development.

If the number of deepened dwellings is small, in turn, that of the above ground ones is much bigger. They are found as adobe agglomerations, without traces of the pole pits, thus creating a difficulty regarding the establishing of their shape and dimensions. This fact could be detected in the settlement from Govora Sat-*Runcuri*. Here, Petre Roman discusses about the fact that insufficient traces have been found, in order to establish the dwelling type – excepting adobe traces, sometimes bearing imprints of twigs and beams. In turn, at Drăgăneşti Olt, the outlines of the above ground dwelling are somewhat more precisely emphasized. Thus, dwelling no. 1 (LG 1) measured about 4.10 x 3.20 m and had a NW-SE orientation. The inventory it contained comprised pottery, flint splinters, a chariot wheel, animal bones, as well as a fragmentary axe. The dwelling no. 2 (LG 2) had the approximate dimensions of 4.25 x 3.45 m. At Braneț, even if we don't know the real dimensions of the dwellings, the author has stated that they had a rectangular shape: in fact, most of them were rectangular, but there were also square ones – i.e. dwelling no. 13, investigated in 1981, had the dimensions of 6 x 6 m, while the one bearing no. 12 discovered in 1979 measured 4 x 4 m.

The above ground dwellings are small, or middle sized, in most of the cases. This kind of dwellings we find, for instance, at Braneț, where they have dimensions of 2 x 3 m, or 2.80 x 1.90 m. In the same settlement we also find big sized constructions – i.e. dwelling no. 13 measured 6 x 6 m.

Any special fittings of the floors could be detected, the habitation level being marked just by big river stone agglomerations. The construction system of the Glina dwelling was the wattle and daub, while the roofs, both belonging to the deepened dwellings and the above ground ones, were made of reef, or straw. In our opinion this is an argument that the large majority of the Glina settlements have ended in fires, also considering the open hearths, both inside and outside the dwellings, fact that facilitated the burning of the dwellings. Regarding the destination of such constructions, it is mostly possible that the bigger ones could have served some aspects connected with the spiritual life of the respective community.

The inventory of the above ground dwellings was, as already mentioned, the same like the one uncovered in the deepened ones. It is heterogeneous and it comprises pottery, clay, antler, or stone objects and exceptionally, metal ones.

Pits, hearths, ovens. In all Glina settlements systematically investigated pits have been uncovered. Such complexes have been found both inside the dwellings and outside them. In the range of the Lower Olt basin there are pear shaped pits, at Drăgăneşti Olt, in the settlement from Morăreşti, at the western limit of the space under study, containing as inventory a lot of adobe, ceramic fragments, ash and three flint truncated and cylindrical cores. At Braneț, inside the dwellings, there are oval shallow pits that contain ash, charcoal fragments, and animal and bird bones,

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together with ceramic remains. Their destination was possibly a domestic one, for keeping the trash.

The hearths have been also uncovered inside and outside the dwellings. Thus, at Drăgăneşti Olt it was found a hearth with a thick layer of burning, with different reconstructions, fact which proves its longer use. At Braneț, in dwellings nos. 5-7, 10, 12, 13 some rounded hearths have been discovered, with several reconstructions and repairmens. Their dimensions have varied between 0.70 m and 1.50 m. Also, hearths have been found in the same settlement, with a thin layer of burning, used for a shorter time. Hearths have been also uncovered at Govora Sat-*Runcuri Ciobea*, Țeica, Rm. Vâlcea-*str. Calea lui Traian*, Govora Băi, Arsanca.

The destination of the hearths was, in their immense majority, a domestic one, being used for cooking. Still, near the hearth inside the dwelling no. 10 from Braneț a chariot wheel was discovered, but also a votive axe, made of fine clay. It is possible that, at least in some certain moments, such hearths could have been also destined for the cultic activities.The oven had exclusively a domestic use. In the Lower Olt basin just a single case was discovered, the one from Drăgăneşti Olt.

Funerary complexes. The data about the funerary rites and rituals belonging to the bearers of the Glina Culture are extremely scarce and contradictory, on the entire range. In the space under study the only funerary complex is the one discovered at Govora Sat-*Runcuri* but, its situation is completely uncertain. Yet, if the archaeological context rendered by the author is the real one, by the analogies that could be found between the vessel that was used as an urn (being a cremation burial) and other receptacles from the distribution range of the later phase of the Glina Culture (= the 4th one) and that of the bearers of the stone cist burials, we are inclined to assign the mentioned complex to the latter ones.

The archaeological material. Lithic industry. Generally, the lithic inventory of the Glina Culture is made of Prebalkanic flint. There are no exceptions from this situation, even when considering the lithic artifacts in the Lower Olt basin. The working techniques of this material are by chopping-retouchés and by polishing.

Therefore, in the settlement from Govora Sat-*Runcuri* flint splinters could be found, having a low quality and traces of being used as blades, or razors. At the same time, there were also identified quartzite splinters. At Drăgăneşti Olt there were also flint blades and several splinters of the same material, probably residues remained after processing. Also in the category of the blades could be also included the items discovered at Braneț.

Other categories of chopped stone, as the gratoirs and razors have been discovered in the settlement of Braneț, the most intensely investigated within the range we are dealing with here. At Rm. Vâlcea-*Cetățuia* has been also found a curved knife, made of chopped stone. In the category of the chopped stone weapons we have to include also those two arrow points, uncovered within the perimeter of the dwelling no. 11 from Braneț.

Concerning the polished stone artifacts, they are: chisels (Govora Sat-*Runcuri*), grinders and polishers (Braneț), axes (Braneț, Govora Băi). A wider distribution in the range that we are dealing with us could find in the case of the unperforated axes, with a circular groove (for "mining"). These items have been discovered in a larger number in the northern space of the Lower Olt basin, but they are not missing in the south too. Concerning their functionality, if for the artifacts in northern Oltenia, situated close to the salt, or copper deposits, their use as mining hammers was possible (for breaking the salt, or the copper ore), for the southern areas they might have had another destination – stone breakers (flint, of bones, cutting wood, skin processings.

Horn, antler, bone teeth and tusks are small in number and very poor. Yet, this is not a singular fact in the context of the Early Bronze Age on the territory of Romania.

Metal objects are in small number and lacking some metallographic analyses, we presume that they were made out of copper. They comprise: awls (Căzăneşti-*Cărămidărie*), chisels (Braneț), flat axes with upraised margins (*Randleistenbeile*) (Căzăneşti-*Cărămidărie*, Boişoara), axes with transversal hole (*Schaftlochaxte*), daggers (Braneț, Căzăneşti).

Pottery. This is the most representative material uncovered in the Glina Culture. Unfortunately, in its large majority, is in fragmentary condition, so that certain forms are rather hard to be reconstructed. The paste of the Glina pottery consisted in three categories: coarse (of common use), semi coarse and fine. The common use pottery prevailed in all Glina settlements, followed by the semi coarse one.

As concerns the forms, or ornaments repertory, as already stressed before, this is a rather restrained and limited one, being almost identical in all Glina settlements. The space we are focused on is no exception to this rule. As forms, we find: sack-vessels, jars, truncated and bitruncated vessels, globular vessels, amphorae, bowls, dishes, mugs, drinking vessels, cups etc. Their decoration is deepened, or reliefed. The deepened one consisted in the well known deepened buttons, or perforations, mostly encountered on the common ware, but not only, in all settlements belonging to the Glina Culture (Braneț, Govora Sat-*Runcuri*, Bârseşti, Gurişoara, Buleta etc.). In this technique have been also done the alveoli (like those found upon the dishes from Căzăneşti-*Cărămidărie*) and the incisions and notches on the jars from Gurişoara. Regarding the reliefed ornamentation, it consisted in two small prominences, of a conical shape, isolated, or grouped in pairs, as we can find at Govora Băi, Căzăneşti-*Cărămidărie*, Arsanca, Braneț etc., simple, notched or alveolated belts, the same as fragmentary belts, (Căzăneşti-*Cărămidărie*, Gurişoara), crests, horseshoe shaped (Govora Sat-*Runcuri*, Braneț).

Other objects made of clay are the spinning whorls, miniature chariot wheels, weights, spoons, axes etc.

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Periodisation. Chronology. Cultural connections.

In time, there were many attempts for an inner periodisation of the Glina Culture. Still, we will limit here to the periodisation of this culture inside the range that we are focused on, respectively the Lower Olt basin.

a) As already shown some time ago by Petre Roman, the material is still insufficient, despite the existence of Glina settlements with several habitation levels, among which the one from Braneț could suggest the possibility of an inner periodisation. After the excavations from the settlement of Govora Sat-*Runcuri* the same archaeologist has discussed about a distinct evolution stage in the development of the Glina Culture – the Govora Sat-*Runcuri* stage. By the research undertaken at Ostrovul Corbului, it could be also observed that, in fact, the Glina materials discovered there were contemporary with the Máko, Nyrség, Vinkovci – Somogyvár type manifestations, in a time when the Coțofeni Culture has ceased its existence, moment that would be later than the one from Govora Sat-*Runcuri*. The fact that the materials of *Runcuri* type, with very clear Vučedol influences, in a local manner of working the pieces, therefore without imports, were not singular, is being backed up by the finds from Călina, Bârseşti (in Oltenia), but also from Valea Calului, Odaia Turcului (in Muntenia). This fact clearly shows us that we are facing a distinct phase (the 3rd) in the evolution of the Glina Culture.

The Glina settlements of the 2nd phase are included into the time span of the Coțofeni IIIb, the same like those from Braneț, where the level belonging to the Glina Culture overlapped another one, of Coțofeni II type. Seemingly, the same situation is to be found at Găneasa, but, unfortunately, due to the missing documentation about the respective excavation, we cannot say that for sure. What we could certainly notice here is the fact that, from the same Găneasa settlement, in the repository of the County Museum Olt, we could find materials belonging to the Coțofeni II phase, that, we presume, have been overlapped by the already mentioned Glina ware. In this way, we could have another confirmation of the situation already known, that the Glina II habitations overlapped the Coțofeni II settlements, while those Glina III, final Coțofeni III ones.

The settlements of Govora Sat-*Runcuri* type chronologically correspond to Coțofeni IIIc, when the Vučedol style of decoration has expanded into the range of the Coțofeni Culture. Thus, it becomes obvious that Govora Sat-*Runcuri* type of materials are later than, for instance, those from Braneț. Otherwise, in this stage of research, we could say that the periodisation advanced by P. Roman for the Glina Culture, comprising four stages, is the most logical one. More recently, it was also proposed a tripartite periodisation of the Glina Culture, in which 2nd and 3rd phases (Roman) should be taken as a single one, namely the classical phase, in the development of this cultural manifestation. Unfortunately, in our opinion, this attempt doesn't take into account those clear Vučedol influences observed upon the pottery from Govora Sat-*Runcuri*, influences that conferred this ceramics a distinct aspect which is generally rather static in its evolution.

b) In the Lower Olt basin we also have a newer stage in the evolution of this cultural manifestation. We believe that this stage (2nd and 3rd phases – Roman) has began together with the initiation of the Coțofeni III phase, as resulted from the stratigraphic situation from Braneț, where the Glina cultural layer has overlapped the Coțofeni II level, or even from Găneasa, even though, as already mentioned above, the situation there is not clear. The end of the Glina Culture in the range we are focused on is undoubtedly connected with the emergence of the Gornea – Orleşti cultural horizon, considering the fact that in the southern part of our range materials decorated with *Besenstrich* and *Textilmuster* have been discovered at Reşca-*Romula – Villa suburbana*.

c) As concerns the cultural contacts, we discussed above about the connections between the settlements of a Govora Sat-*Runcuri* type and the Coțofeni communities but, by the latter intermediation also with the Vučedol ones. Still, we will not insist upon them. Also these settlements have analogies in the Livezile group from Transylvania, by that fragment of vessel decorated with buttoned-holes.

In the settlement from Braneț we could also detect some cultural connections with manifestations situated south of the Danube. Thus, a vessel with expanded handles from the mentioned site could find good analogies in the levels 23b-23a from Kastanas. It seems that such southern influences present in this settlement were in larger number than the usual ones.

III.3. The Gornea – Orleşti cultural group

Settlements. Generally, the settlements belonging to the cultural group of Gornea – Orleşti type, have small dimensions and do not reach altitudes higher than 250-300 m. The level corresponding to this cultural manifestation is usually thin (sometimes even of 0.10-0.15 m) fact which pointed to a short habitation. Concerning the number of this kind of settlements on the Lower Olt basin, this is rather small. We consider this fact to be a result of the recent stage of the research. Generally, in levels belonging to this cultural manifestation we find no complexes at all (dwellings, or pits).

Pottery. The most characteristic material is represented by pottery. This could be parted into two groups: 1 – the common use pottery and 2 – the fine pottery. The repertory of forms and decorations is extremely small, compared with other cultural manifestations. The most frequent vessel forms of this group are: the pot with buldging body, the short neck, a wider opening and everted rim (sometimes with band-like handles); the amphora with a strong, tubular handle, or an ear-shaped one; the jar; sack-vessels with pyriform body and a slightly averted rim; the bowl with a slightly inverted rim.

The pottery decoration is conceived by the technique of impression, or that of the relief. Regarding

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the ornamentation of the pottery in the range that we refer to at the moment, it consisted in treating the walls with a layer of clay, which sometimes was sprinkled, in the technique of barbotine and using a little broom in order to obtain irregular stripes that covered the entire surface of the pot. Many vessels belonging to this category are decorated with reliefed alveolar belts, applied, either directly on the rim, or right underneath. Another specific feature of the ornaments, especially when we discuss about the bowls, is the one of the perforations that penetrated the vessel mouth. The textile decoration, or in honeycomb, that, in fact, provides a special character to the habitations belonging to the settlements of the Gornea – Orleşti cultural group, appeared rather seldom upon the common ware, thus becoming a characteristic of the fine pottery. This kind of ornament is usually placed at 4-5 cm beneath the rim, covering the body of the vessel up to its base. As concerns the quantitative proportions between the group of common and fine pottery, we could say that the common one prevailed.

IV. Discussions regarding the end of the Early Bronze Age on the Lower Olt basin

Before we could analyze the finds belonging to the Gornea – Orleşti cultural group on the Lower Olt basin, there is something we need to point out. The aspects concerning the last stage of the Early Bronze Age in the space we are analyzing is just starting to get outlined. It is enough to back up our position even by emphasizing once again the fact that the number of finds belonging to this chronological sequence is extremely low, while the aspects connected with the beginning and end of the respective stage are still obscure.

When the evolution of the Early Bronze Age II (EBA II) ends and begins another phase in this geographical space, which is Early Bronze Age III (EBA III), it is hard to say precisely in this moment. It is possible that the border, of course a conventional one, could be identified in those ceramic fragments that are decorated with the technique called "*Besenstrichverzierungen*" but which have also those perforations beneath the rim of the vessel, thus, a horizon more early tied with the Glina Culture, that preceded the manifestations of Gornea – Orleşti type. Yet, besides these aspects, which could be a possible solution to the mentioned problem, due to the lack of stratigraphic observations that would enable us to establish more precisely the relation between those two stages of the Early Bronze Age, it is hard to draw any conclusions. At Locusteni we could notice the presence of a footed vessel, decorated with "sunken" dots (by the published drawing we could not realize what was the shape of those impressions). Out of the analogies we could make for its shape (specific to the Nagyrév and Hatvan Cultures), but also for its decoration – we should mention here just the fragment from Ţebea-*Ruşti* with an ornamentation consisting in triangular impressions that has correspondences concerning the motifs in finds of Sanislău type – enabled us to infer a parallel existing with this up mentioned group.

Trying to introduce the materials rendered above in a more restrained chronological-cultural background, thus, closer to the archaeological realities, we are forced to become tributaries to the recent stage of research, in the space that we are dealing with.

The only element that could suggest us a possible succession of the Early Bronze Age vestiges is the pottery. As the shapes of the receptacles are hard to reconstruct, in most of the cases, the main leading thread is the ceramic decoration. Even if this criterium has been used for a large number of finds belonging to the Early Bronze Age, the first attempt has belonged to Petre Roman when discussing the notion of "Nyrség group". Even if this enterprise has been subsequently expanded, for the area that we are dealing with we do not have such a functional system. In fact, this would be hard to do (even impossible), in the recent stage of research in the Lower Olt basin, due to the fact that just part of the materials are published and most of them have been discovered in surveys, thus, without any clear stratigraphical observations.

Culturally speaking, the finds are being connected with manifestations that in recent time are facing new definitions and content nuances. In our opinion, these materials, together with those known as "Iernut type finds" – therefore coming from Central and South-Western Transylvania, together with those from Zoltan, but excepting maybe some of the discoveries from north-western Romania, should be brought together under the denomination of Gornea – Orleşti Cultural Group, in fact being rather uniform upon the entire distribution range. We believe that the materials of Bungetu type could not be assigned to this cultural phenomenon, in fact, being the first manifestations of the Tei Culture, implicitly of the Middle Bronze Age. The discovery of a settlement of Gornea – Orleşti type (with pottery decorated with stripes and textile imprints, or shaped as a honeycomb) at Stoicăneşti, Olt County, on the left bank of the Olt river, could represent an argument in the sense of a common origin of the Tei and Verbicioara cultures, upon a Gornea – Orleşti population stock.

This cultural horizon, by its connections with Central Europe, could possibly illustrate the penetration of a population wave coming from the west. The moment when the last stage of the Early Bronze Age has ended in the Lower Olt basin is surely marked by the emergence of the Verbicioara Culture.

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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ELEMENTS OF ROMANIAN MYTHICAL GEOGRAPHY. CĂLUŞUL[1]

VLAD IONUȚ SEMUC

Keywords: customs, Căluş, mythology, interdisciplinary approach.

Cuvinte-cheie: obiceiuri, Căluş, mitologie, abordare interdisciplinară.

For the audience, the traditional custom called *"Căluşul"* is a folk happening, a great performance and also a play. Beyond these, it implies profound meanings regarding the human relations with the world and with the nature, the normal way of life and the solutions that the humans had found in this millenary evolution, in order to make things right, when they were out of order. As Mihai Pop had put it, it is an expression of social life and, sometimes, a mechanism that makes our social life go on.

In order to understand the meaning of the *Căluş*, considering the conditions of its integration within the contemporary culture, we should also know its significance in the past. This is why, the custom needs to be known in depth. Its investigation cannot restrict to the surface, as description of the dance as known in our days, but to point out as many profoundly human facets it comprised, its reconstruction beginning from prehistoric times, starting from plain hypotheses, up to confirmed documentary data. Lastly, it should provide an explanation for an apparently simple fact: how it came to what it is. This it the condition of its critical valorification, in the true cultural sense.

The reason for choosing a theme like this comes from the necessity of putting information in order, for there are a lot of old and new data that have been interpreted so far. From this perspective, the volume *"Elements of Romanian Mythical Geography. Căluşul"*, tries, apart from the investigation of certain aspects connected to how the custom takes place in the real life, to make an analysis that should lead not only to the discovery of its successive stratifications, but also to the reconstruction and knowledge regarding the evolution of the different perspectives that it is made of.

Because of its complexity, to approach this custom from the perspective of a single discipline, cannot offer conclusive explanations of all its aspects (origin, evolution, functions, meanings and so on). This is the reason why, as methodology, I considered the interdisciplinary method, that is based – at the level of synchronous analysis – on facts and data research, that is formed at the level of diachronic interpretation (in order to determine the cultural archetypes) through the ethnological, geographic and historical (archaeological) investigation, trying in both cases, to frame the custom in its area plan.

In order to support the ideas developed in the volume, I have brought, besides the already classical bibliography of the *Căluş*, the recent literature dedicated to this ritual, a series of archive documents unused by now in the research, the results of the field investigations, in order to observe the today condition of the custom, but also some series of new archaeological finds.

As the title says, this work is not aimed to offer an overview of the custom, but to show certain aspects and phenomena of its sphere that are less known in general, or aspects that have stirred debates along the years in this field.

Actually, there are six detailed analyses aspects that coincide with the chapters of the book: I – *Historical evidence and the history of the researches*, II – *General Presentation (The spatial and temporal context, the players, the props and ritual symbols, the ritual script)*, III – *The Geographical environment and repartition (sharing) of the custom*, IV – *The Equine Motif. Historical considerations*, V – *Dances with weapons in the European space, origins, distribution, historical becoming*, VI – *From the traditional custom to the contemporary show*.

The first chapter is dedicated to the oldest evidences of archeological nature and others that could be connected to the custom, but also to a critical comment of the bibliography.

Along time, the custom of *Căluş* stirred the admiration and interest of a large number of Romanian and foreign scholars, given its very archaic elements, but also due to its spectacular appearance, the beauty of the dance and melodies. Beginning with the first information that belonged to the foreign travelers (15th century) and reaching up to the ethnological studies in the 19th-20th centuries, this socio-spiritual phenomenon was frequently analyzed. With some exceptions yet, the descriptions and even the vast studies lacked the basic aspects regarding the *Căluş* significance, tackling it from a single perspective, as a dance. To all these, some ethnological presentations have been added, mostly often being very limitted and

[1] Doctorate thesis defended in 2008 at the Faculty of Geography of the University of Bucharest; scientific coordinator prof. dr. Ion Ghinoiu.

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meant to point out some curiosities of that custom.

The documentary-scientific value of the bibliographical sources is uneven and only by their combination a clear general image of the *Căluş* could be outlined. At the same time, the crtitical evaluation of the existing information provides with just several basic aspects that could bring clarifications about the way this custom had been practiced in the past, about its territorial extension or about its ritual content. Mainly, there are two perspectives of the custom: the first one – the author aims to elucidate its origins, the other – that is specialized in the choreographic language study, the play – the game – being one of main parts of the ritual.

The limited extension of this Chapter did not enable us to present a critical analysis of the whole bibliography and rendering all viewpoints in a large number of historical sources, studies and articles. This is why, I was focused just upon some papers of a certain scientific value, containing novel information and surprise by their approach, or conclusions. Moreover, the oldest sources are also presented that, even if not referring explicitly to the *Căluş* custom, can still be connected with it. These are even more valuable considering that, up to this paper, thay had not been used and valorified at all.

The second chapter is dedicated to a detailed description of the ritual, in order to obtain an image as expressive as possible. Without it, it would be impossible to research and order its components. Although *"Căluşul"* is common to all the spaces where Romanians live, some of its sequences are different and this is why I have considered necessary to identify each element and its characteristics and purest forms.

For a better understanding of the phenomenon, I have referred to the Geographical areas that have more or less influenced the emergence and evolution of the ritual. Moreover, I have followed the geographical distribution, the different stages of evolution in each area and the structural changes it had undergone.

As first instance, out of the brief presentation of the regional characteristics of the customs, seen in their evolution, we could find that, despite all these variants it had, in a certain moment, they were part of a unitary and complex custom/ritual, defined by an organic structure in which the constituents were determined by norms, established and strenghthened by tradition.

The relation of the *Căluş* with its ritual time (the spring equinox and later on the *Rusalii*), has been determinant for its structure integrity for a long time. Gradually, due to some local factors, sometimes remainig unknown, that connection got weakened and further on, as a consequence, it resulted in the dilution and then losing the ritual content. The slight regional differentiation existing in the structure of the ritual became more evident and, at present time, this is strikingly visible. This is why, we could discuss about a *Căluş* practiced during the *Rusalii* festive season and (still) posessing a strong ritual character, or about the one that reached as moment of manifestation close to the winter festive season, preserving just its spectacular character.

Out of this perspective, I have considered that we could discuss about regional forms, or differentiations of the *Căluş*, just considering the evolution stages reached in the respective areas.

Even if some researchers consider risky that, in the present stage of research, we should attempt to establish the origins of *Căluş*, we could still emphasize that is not a precise moment when this custom began its existence and it cannot be found any way that could enable us to trace it. As any human creation, the *Căluş* custom had no beginning in a certain place and time. The speculations on this topic are just subjective and arbitrary constructions, upon which we have no control. They cannot be maintained, except as hypotheses, with a more or less strong documentation. Yet, we consider that, even if we cannot reconstruct the primary, *original* form of the *Căluş* and we cannot know if initially it was just a single custom, or a complex of similar ones, coming from various sources, some elements that comprise its different strata provide some significant elements (traces of the solar cult, weapons and vegetation, the exclusively male structure of the group etc.), being specific to some Indo-European populations of the Bronze and Iron Ages.

An ancient, basic motif, that is present in ritual all the time is the equine motive. This is why in chapter four, I have tried to analyze the evolution of this perspective. In ancient times, the importance of the horse and its symbol had been studied only archaeologically. Unfortunately, because we lack written sources, the only way to find out the certain fact about this reality is by studying direct proofs as bone remains, masks, wall drawings, ceramics, stones and a few other indirect proofs (as belts...).

This volume also contains a chapter dedicated to a comparative analysis of the weapon dances within the European region, that *Căluş* custom is part of. I have considered of use to give some examples of dances that belong to the same family, given that nowhere else we could find the complete ritual, everywhere could be found fragments that can be put together, in order to reconstruct it, even in part. By their comparison, it can be established not only the mutual and original background that brings together these practices in a single stem, beyond their regional distinct features, but also the changes that occured in time. The inherent, undergone transformations, have been caused not only by the different historical evolution of each country, but also by the spiritual atmosphere specific to those people, more or less inclined towards the practice of such a custom, in which the dance played an important role.

Even if isolated and supperficially mentioned in the writings of the antique authors, this originary background has been more vastly rendered in the real life, covering a large part of the European continent. Emerging in a certain historical-geographic context, under the urge of certain necessities, it continued to get transformed, to part itself into sequences and to

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acquire zonal specific features, under the influence of the antique Roman and Greek civilizations and later on, by assimilating some elements belonging to other cultures. Also, together with the fundamental changes that appeared in the human mentality, these ritual practices have been modified, achieving other functions or, in some cases, completely disappearing. The evolution of this elaborate custom has faithfully mirrored all historical processes of changes whithin the social structure and mentality that it crossed through. In the case when some of its sequences (dramatic elements symbolising death and revival, the fight between the forces of the life and death) are still preserved in some more conservatory regions, this happens just in the virtue of tradition.

The existing resemblances between these dances has been connected by some scholars with the historical evolution process of the society, which generated (in a different time and space, but at the level of the same stage of economic and social development) similar cultural forms. We consider that, in the given situation, we could not discuss about such a process because, in all these dances, not only elements of form analogy could be traced, but mostly phenomena of identity, regarding the social-historical structure and function.

Above all, the Romanian *Căluş* has preserved, close to our days, a complex agrarian custom, as a conglomerate of ritual practices of fertility, fecundity, prophylaxy, healing and initiation, that still reflect its ancient function as a means of knowledge, concerning the nature and divinity.

In the last chapter, I have tried to provide a perspective of the dynamics of *Căluş* in the context of modern society. The ritual, which is directly connected to the collective history, economy, social life and mentality, nowadays has uneven stages of evolution. Generally speaking, even if in certain areas some traces of ritual are kept, they have lost their real meaning and are seen as spectacular elements and practiced as a outcome of tradition, with a lot of comic content. This is why, I have considered it was necessary to follow the survival of the ritual nowadays, with its social and economic meanings and functions, trying to integrate it into today's reality.

The permanence of this custom is determined by a mechanism of self-regulation that induced the movement of the message from the ritual level towards the entertainment and artistic one. The closer we get to our days, we could observe a change of its function from the ritual level, in which the accent has been placed upon the belief in the effectiveness of the performed acts, towards the ceremonial one, in which the determinant factor of the reconstruction is keeping with the tradition and also towards the spectacular one, which is perceived as an artistic product. The rhythm of this process, as a reflex of the historical evolution and of changes appeared in ideology, was undetectable for a long time and then, slightly, after World War II it became more and more intense, in larger proportions *"the renewing force indisputably dominating over the force of tradition maintaining*". At the same time, the *Căluş* is the most eloquent example of passage from a rite to the ceremonial and then to the show. Its actual form, according with the local or general social context of performance, brings together, in a coherent piece, all three functions that long time ago were in a distinct position.

This volume aims to be a first attempt of a certain way of approaching this archaic ritual: interdisciplinarity. I have chosen this way to treat the subject, in order to fill in a gap and to suggest a way to be followed.

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MIHAIL ZAHARIADE, *The Thracians in the Roman Imperial Army. From the First to the Third Centuries AD I Auxilia*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, 409 pages, 2 Tables, 10 Figures, 15 Plates

CONSTANTIN C. PETOLESCU

This book, the first of a projected series of five volumes on Thracians in the Roman Imperial Army of the Principate, initiates discussion of the Thracian contribution. The other four volumes of this grandiose undertaking as Prof. Dr. Mihail Zahariade promises in his "Foreword" will include a second tome on the Thracians in the legions, a third on the Praetorian guards, a fourth on the *equites singulares*, and a fifth on the Imperial war fleets at Misenum and Ravenna. If achieved, Dr. Zahariade would offer a significant contribution to the study of ethnical groups in the Roman Army, especially important for understanding the complexity of the integration of non-Italians into this vital body of Roman society.

Previous studies of particular ethnic groups in the auxilia of the Roman army have produced remarkable works. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I would mention particularly M. Bang, *Die Germanen in römischen Dienst* (Berlin 1906); W. E. Brown, *The Oriental Auxiliaries of the Imperial Army* (Ann Arbor/ London, 1941); A. Balil, *Alae y Cohortes Astures en el ejercito romano*, in *Homenaje al Conde de Vega del Sella* I (1956) 299-313; Garcia y Bellido, *Alas y cohortes espanolas en el ejercito auxiliary romano de epoca imperial*, *RHM* I (1957) 23-49; G. Simpson, *Britons and the Roman Army* (London 1964); B. Dobson and J. C. Mann, *The Roman Army in Britain and Britons in the Roman Army*, *Britannia* 3 (1973) 191ff.; José M. Roldán Hervás, *Hispania y el ejército romano: Contribución a la historia social de la España Antigua* (Salamanca 1974); and F. Gayet, *Les unités auxiliaries Gauloises sous le Haut-Empire Romain*, *Historia* 55 (2006), 64-103. Study of Thracians in the Roman army, however, began already in the nineteenth century with J. Keil's *De Thracum Auxiliis* (Leipzig, 1882). After a long hiatus J. Bogaers in 1974 collected the evidence for Thracian auxilia in the Dutch part of Germania Inferior (*Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Studies on the Roman Frontiers in Mamaia* [Bucharest/Köln 1974] 445-464). Also worth noting is M. Tatcheva's, *The Thracian Bessi Domo et Militiae*, *Ziva Antika* 47 (1997) 199-210, and especially his *Die thrakischen Bessi in der römische Armee*, in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (Roma 1997) 877-884. Thus, despite precursors, Zahariade's volume excels previous work in its empire-wide coverage and discussion of the complexity of problems.

The volume is divided into two parts. Part I, "Descriptive," treats in nine chapters the epigraphic material and literary sources in detail. A reader will here derive the most complete picture of the Thracians in the Imperial auxilia possible on available evidence. Part II, "Appendices" and "Illustrations", transforms the narrative of Part I into tables and lists for ready reference and synoptic overviews of the material.

Chapter I, "The Background. Thrace and the Thracians" (pp. 17-38) is divided in two parts. The first fully treats the history, topography, and ethnic divisions of the Thracians, about whom Herodotus (V 3.1) stated that "they were the most numerous in the world after that of the Indians", although he also noted their disunity. Many Roman historians, such as Livy, Pomponius Mela, Tacitus, and later Vegetius mention the Thracians' warrior aptitudes. After a brief overview of Thracians – from the Trojan War to the annexation of Thrace into the Roman Empire – Zahariade examines the history and topography of the major Thracian tribes, exhaustively citing, besides modern literature, the literary and epigraphic sources. A complete list of Thracian tribes is given in the introductory paragraph. The core of the Thracian population in pre-historic and historical times occupied the eastern Balkan Peninsula (Thrace proper), but Thracian elements were also commonly found in western Asia Minor, the steppe north of the Black Sea, Macedonia, and northern Greece. Of particular interest for the author is the northern branch of the Thracians, which included the Moesi, Getae, and (further north in Transylvania) the Dacians. The second part examines the administrative reorganization of Thrace after Roman annexation and conversion of the previous Hellenistic strategies, still current in the first century, into the *regiones* of the second and third centuries, with the urbanization of

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Thrace increased. A table reproduces the literary and epigraphic sources for the original strategies.

Chapter II, "Rome and Thrace: A Political and Military History of the Conquest of Thrace" (pp. 39-85) traces the political and military course of Thraco-Roman relations: Rome's advance in the Balkan Peninsula up to the Danube with the establishment of a fortified river frontier or *limes* in the Late Republic and Early Principate and initial Roman contacts with Transdanubian populations. Before Roman annexation, clients-kings (*reges amici et socii populi Roma-ni*) of the Sapaean dynasty (with a Odrysian origin) ruled a Thracian kingdom, Thracia, whose name the Roman province preserved. Initially Thrace was organized as an Imperial province, governed by a procurator of equestrian rank. From Trajan on, the governors were of praetorian rank with the title *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Only insignificant military forces (two or three auxiliary cohorts) served as a garrison.

Chapter III, "The Recruitment and the Setting of *Alae* and *Cohortes Thracum*" (pp. 59-111) beginning treatment of the subject proper, contains five parts. The first thoroughly analyzes the epigraphical and literary sources to create a coherent picture of stages in the establishment of the oldest regiments, which date late under Augustus or even earlier. The author examines in detail the date of the creation of each regiment of *Thraces*. The Imperial onomastics are a key element. For six regiments, *alae I–III Augusta Thracum* and *cohortes I-III Augusta Thracum*, the Imperial title *Augusta* indicates a considerable employment of Thracians under Augustus. These units may have originated in the already existing forces of the Odrysan kings Rhoemetalces I and II, staunch allies of Rome, or the Thracian mercenaries of Herod. They could also be fresh levies. Once the province of Thrace was created in 46 and throughout the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, no new Thracian regiments received the Emperor's name. The title Flavia is attested for only two cohorts raised among the Bessi. Later creation of new units labeled *Thracum* apparently ceased. Zahariade successfully presents a comprehensive picture of Thracian recruitment in the second and third centuries, when Thracian recruits continued to supply manpower to non-Thracian auxiliary regiments in a period even after a system of local or regional recruitment became the norm. The epigraphical evidence demonstrates that Thracian recruits in considerable numbers replenished auxiliary units in the Rhine valley, the Pannonian provinces, Moesia Inferior, and Dacia.

Zahariade devotes special attention the mixed units of *Galli et Thraces* and regiments called *Syriaca*. Of particular interest is the section entitled "The Recruitment Basins", for which a better title would have been "The Recruitment Pools". The known regions of recruitment in Thrace are reviewed: the tribal regions or semi-urban and urban centers, such as Serdica-Sardica and the surrounding region, Dardania, the tribes of Dentheletae, Sapaeians, Bessians, and a wide range of other Thracian tribes generally called Thraci or Thraces. Significantly, Zahariade also looks at Thracian communities outside Thrace, the Thracian diaspora, and its role in supplying recruits for both regiments labeled *Thracum* and units with non-Thracian titles. Here the statistics and commentaries display Zahariade's mastery of the literary and epigraphic sources as well as the secondary historical literature.

Chapter IV, "*Auxilia Thracum*. Identification, Structure and Number" (pp. 113-117) an introduction to the detailed study of individual units to follow, holds a particular place in the work's economy as an attempt to present *avant la lettre* the exact identity of the Thracian units. Here is assembled a scholarly compendium of earlier views on the Thracian auxilia, thereby avoiding in the following two chapters on individual cavalry and infantry units treatment of controversies and conflicting viewpoints. Such "streamlining" of scholarship deprives the reader of the potentially fruitful comparison of opinions on individual units. The opportunity for a very useful état de question has been missed.

Chapter V, "*Alae Thracum*" (pp. 119-135) presents a gazetteer of Thracian cavalry regiments, of which a preliminary list appeared in Zahariade's paper in the *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Barcelona* (Barcelona 2007). The history of each of the twelve individual regiments is analyzed: date of creation, movements, building activities, service in wars, and personnel (officers, NCO's, and soldiers). A complete list references is appended to the discussion of the individual units. The following cavalry regiments (*alae*) have been identified: (1) *Gallorum et Thracum Antiana sagittariorum*, (2) *Gallorum et Thracum Constantium*. (3) *Gallorum et Thracum Classiana*, (4) *Veterana Gallorum et Thracum*, (5) *I Augusta Thracum*, (6) *I Thracum*. (7) *I Thracum Herculiana*, (8) *I Thracum Mauretana*, (9) *I Thracum veterana sagittaria*, (10) *I Thracum victrix*, (11) *II Augusta Thracum*, and (12) *III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum.* The list, although not indisputable, offers the author's identifications, as disentangled from numerous opinions about the epigraphical evidence.

Chapter VI, "*Cohortes Thracum*" on infantry regiments follows the model of the previous chapter on cavalry units. Twenty-six *cohorts Thracum* are: (13 [1]) *I Flavia Bessorum*, (14 [2]) *I Augusta Thracum civium Romanorum equitata*, (15 [3]) *I Thracum*, (16 [4]) *I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis*, (17 [5]) *I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum*, (18 [6]) *I Thracum*, (19 [7]) *I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum*, (20 [8]) *I Thracum Germanica equitata civium Romanorum*, (21 [9]) *I Thracum milliaria*, (22 [10]) *I Thracum sagittariorum*, (23 [11]) *I Thracum Syriaca equitata*, 24 [12]) *II Flavia Bessorum,* (25 [13]) *II Augusta Thracum equitata*, (26 [14]) *II Gemella Thracum equitata*, (27 [15]) *II Thracum veterana equitata pia fidelis*, (28 [16]) *II Thracum equitata civium*

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Romanorum, (29 [17]) *II Thracum Syriaca*, (30 [18]) *III Augusta Thracum equitata*, (31 [19]) *III Thracum equitata civium Romanorum bis torquata*, (32 [20]) *III Thracum Syriaca sagittaria equitata*, (33 [21]) *III Thracum veterana*, (34 [22]) *IIII Thracum equitata pia fidelis,* (35 [23]) *IIII Thracum Syriaca*, (36 [24]) [*V Thracum*], (37 [25]) *VI Thracum equitata*, 38 [26]) *VII Thracum equitata.* Remarkably only two are raised among the *Bessi*; the great majority are termed *Thraces*. Fifteen cohorts were *equitatae*, therefore having a component of cavalry. The majority were probably *quingenaria* and just one *milliaria*. As Zahariade demonstrates, the highest unit number for *alae* and *cohortes Thracum* is VII. Thus a *cohors* V is very likely from the existence of regiments numbered VI and VII. Since several units had the same number, their individual identification is based on other elements. A unit is called *gemella*, when two regiments of the same ethnic origin and number were established.

Chapter VII, "The Dynamics of the Thracian Regiments" (pp. 163-168) examines the mobility of the *alae* and *cohortes*. The author summarizes movements of the regiments in a systematic and concise manner, using unit numbers to produce a comprehensive picture of where the units served and where recruits were sent during the first-third centuries. A useful table (pp. 166-68) systematizes a vast amount of epigraphical and literary documents.

Chapter VIII, "*Auxilia* at War" (pp. 169-193) presents the political and especially military events (civil wars, operations behind or beyond the Roman frontiers), in which the Thracian regiments were engaged. Military diplomas and inscriptions, supplemented by a few literary sources, furnish the evidence. The author identifies the service of Thracian units in the following operations: the Mauretanian war under Caligula and Claudius, the conquest of Britain, participation in Corbulo's Armenian expeditionary force, events during Domitian's reign (annexation of the *campi decumati*, Agricola's campaign in Britain, wars with the Dacians, Sarmatians, and Suebi), Trajan's Dacian and Parthian wars, Hadrian's suppression of the Jewish revolt, Antoninus Pius' war against the Moors in Mauretania, Marcus Aurelius' Marcomanic wars, Septimius Severus' Parthian wars, Caracalla's Rhine expedition (213), and repulse of Moorish incursions under Severus Alexander and Gallienus.

Chapter IX, "*Auxilia Thracum* at Work" (pp. 195-212) treats the building activities of Thracian units in the provinces where they were billeted or occasionally in other regions. Inscriptions and brick or tile stamps, the only sources for this type of activity, attest a wide range of objectives: roads, bridges, forts and fortlets, baths, storehouses, temples, and other edifices. Brick and tile stamps reflect a unit's direct or indirect (through export) involvement and also offer evidence of the garrison's location.

Brief "Conclusions" (pp. 213-214) and lengthier "References" (pp. 219-258) complete Part I. Although standard Oxford abbreviations are used in the footnotes, the bibliography of the "References" displays a hybrid system of citation confusing the reader. Indeed the "References" more properly belonged after the "Appendices" of Part II for easier consultation.

Part II, "Appendices and Illustrations" (pp. 261-357) provides numerous useful addenda. **Appendix I**, "Service in the Thracian Regiments" (pp. 216-319) presents the prosopography of the Thracian auxilia: equestrian officers, *principales*, *equites*, *pedites*, and *veterani*. The discussion of veterans (pp. 302-319) demonstrates social mobility and geographical preferences of the individuals for settlement after discharge. Statistical tables reveal the clear preference of Thracian veterans to settle either in Thrace proper or in areas closely related linguistically (Moesia, Dacia). Remarkable, however, are also large numbers of Thracian veterans in the Rhine valley and middle Danubian provinces.

Appendix II 1 (pp. 320-325) "Thracians in the Auxiliary Regiments", lists the names of all known Thracian soldiers in both Thracian and non-Thracian units. The names are grouped in two categories: with and without recorded *origo*. **Appendix II 2** (pp. 326-357) collects the epigraphical data on Thracian regiments or individuals of Thracian origin, following the same order of Chs. V-VI. There is also a considerable amount of data reproduced from inscriptions and military diplomas mentioning Thracian military in auxiliary regiments of non-Thracian origin. Some items here require supplements or clarification:

p. 331 (*CIL* III 3393): *Silvanabus Augg*(*ustorum*); as a grammatical form Silvanus was a single deity; *Silvanae* were collective deities; the dative plural used in that case is usually *Silvanis* (see *IDR* III/3, 220), but the termination of the third declension as in *deus et dea* > *dis deabus* was preferred.

p. 333 (*AÉ* 1974, 587): the son of a centurion of the *cohors I Flavia Bessorum* was an *eques Romanus*, a remarkable fact for the progeny of a centurion in an auxiliary unit.

p. 337 (*CIL* III 3319=10299=*RIU* 1018): the sons of *L. Septimius Tatulus vet*(*eranus*) *ex optione coh*(*ortis*) *I T*(*h*)*racum Germ*(*anicae*) and of *Aurelia Verina* bears the gentilices of both parents: *L. Aurel*(*ius*) *qui et Sep*(*timius*) *Constans, mil*(es) *coh*(*ortis*) *s*(*upra*) *s*(*criptae*), *Aur*(*elius*) *qui et Sept*(*imius*) *Constantinus, mil*(*es*) *leg*(*ionis*) *I Ad*(*iutricis*), *Aur*(*elius*) *qui et Sep*(*timius*) *Victorinus, Aur*(*elius*) *qui et Sep*(*timius*) *Verinus*.

p. 341 (*ILAlg*. 2, 6877): *qu*(*a*)*est*(*or*) *coho*[*rt*(*is*)] *II Gemellae T*(*h*)*ra*[*cum*]; his office of *quaestor* in the Roman army is also known in some cases in the legions VII Claudia (*AÉ* 1970, 363=*IDRE* II 363), XXI (*AÉ* 1998, 975) and XXII Primigenia (*CIL* XIII 6669) and in an auxiliary unit: *signifier et quaestor n*(*umeri*) *Brit*(*tonum*) in Dacia Superior (*IDR* III/3, 243) as well. He administered the pay-office of the unit, which sometimes appears when some building works were carried out by the troop, *ex quaestura sua*; we cite here

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some inscriptions in Dacia, from Mehadia-Praetorium (*AÉ* 1912, 5=*IDR* III/1, 76) from Veţel-Micia (*CIL* III 1379=*IDR* III/3, 58; *AÉ* 1982, 847=*ILD* 308) and Râşnov-Cumidava (*AÉ* 1950, 16=*IDR* III/4, 221).

p. 349 (*AÉ* 1993, 1595), *Aurelius Pimetalca*; the given name is well known as being Thracian (see also p. 324); he can be compared with *Rimetalca-Rhoemetalces*.

Ibidem (Musait), *di*[*sperdi*]*tus in barbarico*; see the inscription from Preslav (*AÉ* 1991, 1378), a soldier from the legion I Italica, *multis periculis in barbarico liberatus* (*barbaricum* was the barbarian area north of the Black Sea).

p. 350 (G. I Katsarov, *Die Denkmäler der thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (Budapest 1938) no. 602, *a mil*(*es*) *alarix*, obviously *mil*(*es*) *alaris*, soldier in an *ala*. The term *miles* is therefore correct also for a cavalry unit; the reading *miles turmaris* on a fragment of a tile from Câmpulung-Jidava (*IDR* II 610), is possible.

Ibidem (*AÉ* 1993, 1590): *ann*(*orum*) *L hopitus* (?) *domo T*(*h*)*racia*; here the uncertain word must be understand as *obitus*: "dead at 50 years".

Ibidem (*CIL* V 898=*AÉ* 1995, 570b): a high-ranking soldier from an auxiliary unit is *translatus in l*(*egionem*) *Au*(*gustam*?); this inscription can be utilized for comparison with another from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, in which some soldiers (of unknown provenance) are *translat*(*i*) *in leg*(*ionem*) *XIII G*(*eminam*) (*IDR* III/2, 245).

p. 351 (*AÉ* 1993, 1596); *salariarius al*(*a*)*e Ulp*(*iae*) *cont*(*ariorum*) *fecit in salario an*(*os*) *XX vixit an*(*nos*) *XLV*; the expression indicates the years of service; it is commonly rendered through the genitive *salariorum* (in other inscriptions mentioning soldiers it is expressed through *stipendiorum*; see *AÉ* 1993, 1589-1592).

p. 354 (*CIL* XIII 8188), *Petitor Pirobori*: the patronymic of this soldier is obviously Thraco-Getic and can be closely compared with the Getic place name *Piroboridava* (attested in the Hunt papyrus and at Ptol. *Geog.* III. 10.8).

The "Illustrations" (pp. 359-362) feature nine maps, 43 photos and 28 drawings (inscriptions, stamped bricks, tiles). The detailed and original maps, an instructive supplement to text, aid a full understanding of the Thracian area, recruitment, deployment of the Thracian units, and their participation in wars or building activities. More photographs, however, for each regiment could have added with arrangement according to the order in the gazetteer. The book's versatility is seen its usefulness with or without many of accompanying documents. An "Index" (pp. 391-409) ends this scholarly and resourceful work.

In sum, Zahariade's new analytical treatment of the fascinating history of the Thracians constitutes a solid contribution, making optimal use the Greek and Latin literary and epigraphically sources. Once examined, the book's real scientific value becomes obvious: the first original synthesis of the role of the Thracians in the defense of Roman civilization in the first three centuries AD. Indeed the work's publication in English renders it accessible to a worldwide scholarly audience, as already attested in its solicitation by libraries, other specialists in the field, and students of numerous nations.

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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Review

SULTANA AVRAM, *Incursiune în antropologie*, Sibiu, 2007, 101 pages

ALEXANDRA COMŞA

The author of this book (English title: *Excursion into Anthropology*) seems to have two essential objectives. First, the book may be designed as an introduction to the field of cultural anthropology for university undergraduates, as this text provides a comprehensive overview of the discipline. And second, this text aims to demonstrate the dynamic, changing and challenging nature of anthropology today. The author emphasizes what Marvin Harris said: "*The study of anthropology is valuable for anyone contemplating a career in a field affected by the cultural dimension of human existence"*[1]. Anthropology is still a young science in Romania as *many of its most basic questions are as yet without firm answers and the answers we have are subject to revision because research is producing new knowledge*[2].

The **first chapter** (*Domeniul antropologiei / Field of anthropology***,** pp. 9-19) provides an introduction and an orientation to the field. It shows how the various subfields of anthropology, including biological anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, ethnology and many others are tied together by their interest in the human species.

The author introduces us into the field of anthropology, refferring into a brief history to the emergence of the term "*anthropology*", that initially had another meaning than the one we use today. It was insisted upon the data that archaeologists exploit, in order to reconstruct aspects of life in the past human communities (examining of the trash pits, of the animal bones, of the way of acquiring the raw materials, pottery analysis, local and regional studies by aerial views, or other techniques, the study of building functionality).

The physical or biological anthropology is focused upon the study of the human being as a biological system and its connections to the environment. These data are being used by the archaeologists and comprise the criteria for assessing sex, age and possibly the cause of death for the skeletons uncovered during the archaeological diggings. There are also included studies of primatology, taking into account the closest relatives of man, these being also important for archaeologists, especially for those who are dealing with the Palaeolithic time.

The linguistic anthropology studies either the present languages and makes deductions regarding the past ones, or decode "*dead languages*", discovered by archaeologists on clay tablets... etc. Cultural anthropology provides a definition of culture and sets forth certain general features of cultures, as well as describes and explains cultural differences and similarities.

The culture (**Chapter II**: *Defining culture / Definirea culturii***,** pp. 21-25) had been defined towards the end of the 19th century, subsequently emerging over 100 other interpretations in about half of a century. The author explains and defines what enculturation, cultural relativism, limitations of enculturation concept and diffusion are, stressing upon the fact that some cultures are the result of reactions to similar conditions, or situations.

In the **Chapter III**, entitled *Theoretical Anthropology / Antropologie teoretică* (pp. 27-36) the author presents some of the most important anthropological theories: evolutionism, difusionism, American istoricism, functionalism, structural-functionalism, psychological anthropology, neo-evolutionism, French structuralism, ethnoscience, cultural materialism, interpretative anthropology, and neo-functionalism.

Reffering to the **Chapter IV**, *Unity in diversity: means of communication between us and the others / Unitate in diversitate: mijloace de comunicare între noi şi ceilalți* (pp. 37-43), the author presents aspects of nonverbal communication, the evolution of languages and considers that intolerance and

[1] Marvin 1987, 18.

[2] Daniel 1992.

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conflict are partly the result of missunderstanding the ethno-cultural differences. The importance of *body language* and of different objects used by various communities in nonverbal communication are taken into account. All languages, like other aspects of culture, are constantly being changed as a result of both internal and external processes, are complex, and are adapted to the needs of the respective populations.

The following **Chapter** (**no. V**) deals with *Ways of obtaining food / Căi de obținere a hranei* (pp. 45-48). There is a close connection between the environment, food production and technology, all of them exerting an influence upon the evolution of social organization and culture of the societies. Together with the social evolution it emerged and developed the social hyerarchy. Because people themselves can define the same behaviour in different ways, it is necessary to distinguish between the native definition of, for example, cannibalism and the observer's definition of the custom.

An important part of cultural anthropology study analyzed in the book is **Chapter VI**, *The Evolution of Elementary Forms of Religious Life / Evoluția formelor religioase şi sentimentului religios* (pp. 49-61). Spirituality and religion play an important role in every society. Not all religions have a supreme being, a formal organization, or a set of prescriptions.

If the cult of the dead existed even in Palaeolithic, in time, it would manifest a differentiation of the religious concepts, passing through the cult of the ancestors to the one of the nature, the deities being personified much later. The human-god would be a symbol of the deity, who has both attributes and obligations that, being unfulfilled, could lead from replacement up to his physical expelling.

The following **Chapter** (**no. VII**) deals with *Sexual relations, marriage and family / Relații sexuale, căsătorie, familie* (pp. 63-73). There are tackled the sexual relationships, including homosexuality and incest, the necessary conditions for a marriage at different populations (endogamous or exogamous ones), social influences that appear in such cases, like the levirate (the marriage with the brother of the deceased) or surorate (the marriage with the sister of the deceased wife), the social rules that impose poligamy, simple or serial monogamy. In many societies, the marriage is not a religious problem, but plainly an economic one. That is why, divorce has various degrees of difficulty. The widowhood is also marked by different rituals. It is interesting to take into account the role or importance that genders had played in various societies. The aspects regarding the behaviour of a man or a woman are aspects of extended controversy in the anthropological literature.

An interesting **Chapter** (**no. VIII**) is that of *Rituals and Power Symbols / Ritualuri şi simboluri ale puterii* (pp. 75-82). Initially, political anthropology had emerged as a subfield of the social anthropology, it was outlined as a subfield until the 1930-40's and it truely defined itself after the World War II.

The antique writers (Plato, Aristoteles) considered that the government and policy resulted from civilization, while the preceeding stages represented the anarchy, this conception being changed in 1861 by Sir Henry Maine, in his paper entitled "*Antique Law*". He considered that society was patriachal and had a structure based upon kinship, as sacred prescriptions. By accumulation of new and various data in other corners of the world, there were also outlined other conceptions regarding the political anthropology. Max Gluckman established the well known School from Manchester, based upon "*process and conflict*". Another author, Elman Service, published "*The Order of the State and Civilisation*".

These papers established the basis of an efficient communication between the American and European specialists, especially the British anthropologists that used the analysis of the policy of the tribal groups, but also of the modern, industrial states. The power has been always represented by symbols, rendered by plants, animals, or objects. Another universal symbol is the throne, which is to be found both in the world of the humans and in the one of the deities. The king, or the leader, elected, or assigned by hereditary right, had no power up to consecration, after undergoing a certain ritual.

The ritual "*is a symbolic behavior, repeated and socially standardized, as participation to the ritual involves physiological and emotional stimuli... By symbolism it is acknowledged who is strong and who weak, while by the symbols manipulation the strong ones strengthened their authority*"[3].

A significant role is being played by the initiation ritual, kept and differently used since very old times, in order to induce and enhance emotional state, both to the novice and to the assistance. The ceremony is more important in establishing the relations between states, being imposed as such by international protocoles. Extremely valuble for maintaining the power of a political regime is the

[3] Avram 2007, 78.

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emotional involvement of the population in political ceremonies and rituals, even when they induce fear. Some series of public manifestations, such as the carnivals, peace marches, religious processions usually resulted in detensioning the population, but could also manipulate masses of people.

The author dedicated a whole Chapter (**no. IX**) to *Notions on Art Anthropology / Noțiuni de antropologia artei* (pp. 83-89). Concerning the up mentioned field, the anthropologists are preoccupied, not only by the art definition and the attitude towards it, but also by its relation with the culture. The art is a communication means. Even if some artistic manifestations are intensely studied and upon large time sequences, others remained practically outside the concerns of the critics and art historians, such as: sand drawings of the Navajo Indians, painting and tatoo of the body. Each society developed its own standards regarding the differentiation between the real and fake art. The nomadic populations used the body decoration, or the one of their personal items, but also the song, dance, or story telling to transmit messages. In time, in each society emerged individuals specialized in various artistic fields and this is how the standards were raised.

Regarding the art in the ancient times (prehistoric), this was parted into two categories: the mural art, representing the art upon stable background (rocks, stone sledges, caves) and the miniatural one, being performed upon mobile backgrounds. The myths, dance and music represented ways of experience and information communication.

A series of myths have contributed to the formation of the symbolic thinking and afterwards to the initiation of analythical and synthetical communication, strenghtened in time by "*the magic-religious valorization of the language*"[4]. Art is a symbolic, or metaphorical representation of a message that has to be transmitted to those who can perceive it. The anthropologists also consider the craftsman as being artists. Also, Sultana Avram rightfully consideres that "*the art and technology influenced each other, like in the case of the musical instruments, ceramics or fabrics, by looking for new forms, colors and materials*"[5]. The notion of beauty has varied from one culture to another and is sometimes interpreted as *mana*, while other times, like a gift from gods etc.

The kitsch, or non-art, is the expression of the "*values deterioration*"[6] and became manifest into all fields. This non-art could not exist, unless the kitch humans did not exist also, who like the kitch, create it, or buy it. Even if the accent is placed upon the creative aspects, in most of the cultures it could be observed a continuation of the styles that were created in time. In modern culture, genuinity is more important than the inteligibility and art is being interpreted and explained to the wide public by experts.

The final **Chapter** (**no. X**) tries to predict *The future of anthropology / Viitorul antropologiei* (p. 93). At present, some authors consider that, given the emphasized communication and remarkable cultural diffusion, the differences between cultures tend to diminish so that, in the future, the cultural anthropology would disappear, being deprived of its own object of study. Yet, the author of this volume is optimistic, considering that the "*study of the complex societies, of the factors that initiate changes, of the archaic elements that are still preserved*"[7] represent important directions of study for the future, because the cultural diversity would maintain itself.

The Romanian culture has also undergone significant transformation, determined by the "*cultural interchanges, of the economic development and the mentality changes*"[8]. New festive days have been adopted and millenary ones have been ignored. It was lost the interest for wearing the traditional costume and the "*folk*" music has been submitted to important contaminations, both the melodic line and the lyrics. Sometimes, as regards changes, are induced by force, affecting both the culture in certain regions of the world, but also their population. The anthropologists have tried to solve such situations together with international organizations that would mediate with the oficialities of those countries. The studies of urban anthropology offer support in solving some social cases. The anthropological knowledge could be useful to the authorities, politicians, diplomats, missionaries, businessmen, but also to the people who travel to a cultural milieu which is less familiar to them.

The volume *Incursiune în antropologie / Excursion into anthropology* by Sultana Avram has provided us with a real travel in time and space, during which, there were pointed out the most relevant aspects of the analyzed discipline, with special focus upon cultural anthropology, which is her primary concern. The book is worth being read,

[4] Avram 2007, 86 f.

[5] Avram 2007, 87.

[6] Avram 2007, 88.

[7] Avram 2007, 91.

[8] Avram 2007, 91.

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by students, specialists, but also by people who want to get more familiar with the angle of approach used in the field of anthropology.

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Photo on the cover: gold earring from Zimnicea cemetery

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SERGIU HAIMOVICI*

(MAY 13, 1929 – SEPTEMBER 15, 2009)

ALEXANDRA COMŞA

On September 15, 2009 left us one of the outstanding specialists in archaeozoology, who, for some time, was the only one in Romania who had trained new generations, for taking over the secrets of the profession they had chosen.

Out of the entire activity of Prof. Dr. Sergiu Haimovici it could be easily reckoned that his work was permanently intertwined with his passion, both for the biological sciences, having a remarkable mentor in Acad. Olga Necrasov, but also for history and especially for archaeology. This is how it was possible that, as a result of his studies carried out in a very professional way, to be established important aspects of the economical life of many populations who inhabited the territory of today Romania. This fact is extremely important for reconstructing the structure and organization of the ancient societies, but also for establishing their evolution in time.

In order to provide a more complete image, in the following lines we will point out the most important moments in the scientific life of Prof. Haimovici. He was born on May 13, 1929, in Botoşani. He went to the primary school and "*Laurian*" High School in Botoşani, from which graduated in 1948. From the same year, he attended the courses of the Faculty of Natural Sciences from "*Al. I. Cuza*" University in Iaşi, which he graduated from as a biologist-botanist. After the University graduation (1952-1954) he was appointed preparator at the Laboratory of Animal Morphology of the Faculty of Biology, while between 1954 and 1961 he became university assistant in the same laboratory. According to the hierachic scale, between 1961 and 1970 he was in charge with the laboratory activities. He defended his doctorate thesis in 1964 and then, from 1970 until 1990 he was a senior lecturer. In 1990, after a contest for that position, he became a university professor. In the same year, he was given the right to coordinate doctorate candidates in the field of compared anatomy. He retired in 1999. Given his laborious activity, between 1999-2004 he worked as a consultant professor, while since 2004 and until he passed away, as an associate professor. Since 2003, he became honoured professor of the "*Al. I. Cuza*" University Iaşi. Beginning with 2004 he was founder and honorary member of the International Council for Archaeozoology (ICAZ).

As concerns his scientific activity, the main fields he focused on were the subfosil fauna of the Holocene (Archaeozoology), etho-ecological and evolutionary morphology of the vertebrates, the fishes karyotype.

He published five courses and practical activities manual but also over 300 original specialized papers and nine chapters, in monographs. He was member in more than ten research teams for grants and was also a member in the redactional committee for the Scientific Annals of the "*Al. I. Cuza*" University in Iaşi, the section of Animal Biology, but also for the Thraco-Dacica Journal, from Bucharest.

He took part to a large number of symposia, conferences and congresses, in Romania, but also abroad, in Hungary, former Tchechoslowakia, Germany, Belgium, Bulgaria, and former U.S.S.R.

Given that his concerns in the field of archaeozoology covered an extended time span, we mention here his remarkable contributions regarding

*I am deeply indebted to Dr. Luminița Bejenaru, at that time assistant of Prof. Dr. S. Haimovici, who had kindly offered me the personal data and publication list of the late professor.

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a series of aspects concerning the animal breeding of some populations, in various historical times. These have been analyzed not only directly, from the archaeozoological viewpoint, but also by using imagistic representations, upon tiles[1]. The studies carried out upon osteological materials have covered almost all time spans in the archaeology, providing very useful information about the economic structure and social organization of the societies in different historical periods. In the following lines, we will offer a selection of the most important and interesting conclusions of University Professor Dr. Sergiu Haimovici.

For the Neolithic time, as we would expect, there was a prevalence of the hunting which decreased subsequently, as we get closer to the Bronze Age.

The archaeozoological studies undertaken upon osteological remains in the archaeological site at Folteşti have pointed out some series of interesting aspects. On the first place we could find the cattle, that maintained for a long time in this position. The horse, which sporadically appeared at the end of the Neolithic time, was certainly domesticated at this moment, reaching a rather high frequence. The ovicaprines and suines had a smaller importance. Even if the mammals represented three thirds of the uncovered materials it could be also found that a large amount of remains had belonged to the fish and molluscs, so that, the molluscs collecting and fishing were well outlined activities, even if during the Bronze Age they significantly diminished their importance, being just sporadically practiced. Such activities have been also identified in the Cucuteni sites, in the regions of low altitude. Hunting, even if not among the main activities had an important role[2].

In the Cucuteni culture, both animal breeding and hunting were well represented in its economy. Out of the archaeozoological analyses carried out until now, it could be drawn the conclusion that the mentioned society was well structured and had a clear occupational differentiation, like the one for hunting (wild boar, stag and auroch) that required special abitilies and strategies. In the eponimous site it could be observed that, besides the large mammals, the carnivores and rodents were also sporadically hunted[3]. In the site from Liveni, also belonging to the Cucuteni culture, there were also found the remains of a human femur which bore the imprints of some possible human teeth. These could be considered as being evidences for the anthropophagy, which is considered to have had a ritual, restrained character[4].

In the Bronze Age, it could be observed that both the animal breeding and hunting were well defined activities. In the Glina culture, both the domestic and wild animals were well represented, especially the mammals. The same like in other cultures, hunting had a small economic importance. Animal breeding, but also agriculture had a special importance. It is interesting to notice that, the cattle had a significant weight among the domestic animals. Their females were prevalant within the mature category, which means that their milk was used in large proportion. From all domestic animals were processed the skins, their horns and even their bones, all being included into the economic cycle of the respective settlement[5]. For the animal breeding, we could mention that the cattle were predominant, being a main source of animal proteins. They were mostly used for utilitarian purposes, being consumed just after they ceased satisfying these demands but, without being kept until they became old. This fact shows that in the Monteoru culture (the sites from Sărata Monteoru, Mândrişca and Bogdăneşti I), that we refer at, there was a rather flourishing economy "*sensibly considered and well planned*"[6]. The other animals varied from one zone to another, but all less frequent than the cattle. Besides the ovicaprines, the horse served some multiple utilities, being also included as a source of food.

For hunting, the biotope of those three sites, with decidous forests, consisting mostly of oak, provided good living conditions for the auroch and roe deer, while in the regions close to the waters were appropriate for the beaver.

In the Noua culture, in the site from Gârbovăț, but also in other sites where the horse remains were been found, there is the possibility that the existing horse breeds of that culture, given their height, could have been the basis for the amelioration and creation of the elite horses of the Getae-Dacians. We will not insist here upon the animal breeding, being well-known the fact that this activity was a basic one for the Noua communities. We will mention here just the fact that cattle were the main source of animal proteins, being sacrificed in their optimal period of zootechnic productivity, without being kept until they would became old.

Another interesting aspect referred to the dog. Given that the Noua populations used to be animal breeders, where the big sized dog was used as a guardian of the herds, the expectancy would have been to find it in large amount but, the situation from Gârbovăț does not adjust to this presumption, as the dog had a small frequency. In certain occasions, it is possible that this species could have been used in alimentation, so that we could consider it as being of economic interest.

As concerns hunting, there were species of big size (*artiodactiles*), like the wild boar, roe deer, auroch, especially the stag, but some rodents being also considered, like the rabbit and beaver and also the carnivores, like bear. The fox was relatively frequently hunted for her fur.

Another feature of the Noua culture was that a developed industry of bone processing existed, thus

[1] Batariuc, Haimovici 2003, 145 ff.

[2] Haimovici 1972, 97 ff.

[3] Haimovici 1969, 317 ff.

[4] Haimovici 2002, 279 ff.

[5] Haimovici 1997a, 231 ff.

[6] Haimovici 1994, 309 ff; Haimovici 1966, 119 ff.

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specific feature being the shoulder blades notched along the glenoid cavities. In fact, this fact is common to the entire complex Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni. It was also observed the shaping of bovid mandibles and rarely the horse ones. It seems that they had been used as utensils in the tillage activities, but also for cutting the herbs[7].

In the settlements of the Getae-Dacians, or free Dacians from Lunca Ciurei (Iaşi County) (3rd-2nd centuries BC)[8], Piatra Şoimului (1st centuries BC -1st centuries AD) (Neamț County), Vlădiceni (2nd-3rd centuries AD) (Neamț County), Botoşani-*Groapa lui Ichim* (2nd-3rd centuries AD) (Botoşani County)[9], situated in a forested environment, there were good conditions for breeding in a primitive manner, almost without stabulation, the cattle, suides, cabalines and caprines. These belonged to primitive races, without amelioration, with a small productivity and starting to get transformed into endemic ones, some of them being still found in our days.

The hen even if well-known beginning with the Latène period, was less used from utilitary viewpoint and was raised sporadically, this fact being quaite surprizing, as it gave eggs, products that could not be obtained from the mammals. The ass (*Equus asinus*) sporadically appeared and had no economical significance. Fishing and molluscs collection had a small weight.

For the Getae-Dacians it could be observed that they had two horse types. Some "*ordinary*" ones of small and middle size and "*elite*" ones with thin or undermiddle metapodes, these individuals being adequate for riding, even if, initially they had been used in multiple purposes[10].

Even if, as it appears, a small number of domestic animals served for trade or exchange, it is most probable that the "*elite*" horses were very demanded[11].

On the other hand, hunting sometimes represented a secondary activity, playing just the role of adding a surplus to the food reserves of the community, sometimes having a significant weight, as the case of the Piatra Şoimului *dava*[12].

The Sântana-Černeahov culture, dated in the 4th century and in the first half of the 5th century AD is known especially by the funerary finds which contained offerings, but also by the offerings placed in cultic pits. Taking into account both the existence of inhumation and cremation burials, in some cases it was extremely difficult to establish a differentiation of the bone type (human or animal) based upon very small sized remains. The materials deposited as an offering belonged to various groups: teleosteean fishes, birds, mammals, especially domestic ones and with small frequency, the wild ones. They were represented, either as one, or as two, or more than two, in the same burial.

The offerings in the cultic pits have a various frequency of species, as compared to the one existing in the burials. The author of the study considered that these pits could represent, at least in part, hygienic pits of the necropolis, here being buried the remains of the funerary banquets that sometimes were pompous and sometimes were too poor in order to require their covering with earth.

The same like the Noua communities, the bearers of the Sântana de Mureş-Černeahov culture possessed the ability of bone processing, especially the antler one[13].

Regarding the Middle Ages, it could be also observed the presence of unimproved domestic races, with small economic productivity, similar to those in Central and Eastern Europe.

We will not insist upon other domestic species. In the 14th-15th centuries, for instance, in the medieval town of Siret (Suceava County), the dog seems to have existed in two variants: one of big size, possibly used as a guardian, for accompaning the cattle herds, but possibly also a small sized one, for entertainment[14].

Also, the cat was probably used for rodent catch, but also for entertainment.

Regarding hunting, it could be observed that it was a rather well distinguished activity in some archaeological sites, like the one from Bârlad (13th-14th century AD). Also, based upon the faunal remains, it was possible to establish the evolution of the biotope in the respective area. Thus, the stag, which was located on higher hills, was a rather abundant species at that time and had a more extended range. The smaller frequency of the red deer showed that deforestation of the big forest massifs was in an incipient stage. It is also possible that the auroch, a relatively frequent species in prehistoy, might have still persisted in that period, in the central zone of Moldova[15].

In the Hudum village, dated in the 14th century, the same like in other bone series coming from domestic animals, it could be emphasized that the animal races were unimproved, the animals being used especially for utilitarian purposes and subsequently for meat consuming. Hunting was sporadically practiced, serving as a supplement of animal proteins, but also of underproducts, like horns, furs etc[16].

This is how, the results of the archaeozoological

[7] Haimovici 1995, 237 ff.

[8] Haimovici 1986, 134 ff; Haimovici, Panove, 1990, 253 ff.

[9] Haimovici 1986; Haimovici 1993, 169-177; Haimovici 1990, 253-262, 134-139.

[10] Haimovici, Panove 1990, 253 ff.

[11] Haimovici 1987, 144 ff.

[12] Haimovici 1993, 169 ff.

[13] Haimovici 1994, 196 ff; Haimovici 2005, 327 ff.

[14] Haimovici, Tarcan, Amaximoaie 1993, 311 ff.

[15] Haimovici 1980, 85 ff.

[16] Haimovici 1994, 230 ff.

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studies bring significant contributions, especially regarding the development level of the analyzed societies, but also concerning their economic structure.

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S. Haimovici, *Date referitoare la metapodalele de ovicaprine din aşezările epocii bronzului de pe teritoriul Republicii Socialiste România*, AŞUI, II, Biologie XI, 2, 1965, 371-378 and appendixes.

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- Hoddinott 1981 - R. F. Hoddinott, *The Thracians,* Thames and Hudson 1981.
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